# HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXIX, No. 43 Copyright 1969 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc. October 25, 1969 35¢



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
RECEIVED
OCT 20
1969
LIBRARIES


## Exclusive Report

# Behind the Post Office Reform Defeat

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The defeat in committee by a 13-to-13 vote of the Post Office reform bill has left the Nixon Administration badly shaken. The White House and Postmaster General Winton Blount had gone all-out to win approval of the House Post Office Committee—wining and dining members on the presidential yacht, dangling new post offices before a few, and even promising support for controversial legislation favored by one congressman.

It is safe to say that the bill would have won committee approval but for one clause which the White House and Postmaster General Blount refused to change. That clause would have opened the door to compulsory unionism in the reformed Post Office, even though this is expressly forbidden in an executive order to all federal departments and agencies issued by the late President Kennedy.

**Mr. Blount defended that clause by saying that under the reform bill, compulsory unionism would not be granted but would be "negotiable." This, of course, is a quibble. Labor negotiation specialists pointed out that any arbitration would undoubtedly lead to a compulsory union shop or, at the very best, an agency shop that allows employes to stay out of a union but compels them to pay dues.**

The Administration's refusal to amend its bill, thereby preventing compulsory unionism in federal employment, was an important factor in the refusal of Rep. William Scott (R.-Va.), a member of the House Post Office Committee, to support it. His vote would have given the Administration a 14-to-12 victory.

Realization of what the "negotiable" clause meant led the powerful American Farm Bureau Federation, which had been enthusiastic for the Administration's reform proposals to notify the postmaster general that it would withdraw its support unless the bill was amended to prohibit compulsory unionism. Scathing editorial denunciation of the clause also helped to water down enthusiasm for the measure.

Until the last minute there was hope of an Administration change of heart. But the postmaster and the White House remained adamant, possibly on the theory that the postal unions, with one of the strongest lobbies on Capitol Hill, would soften their opposition if they smelled a chance at getting what they have always sought—a closed shop in the Post Office.

Now the Administration faces the same fight in the Senate. One influential Republican, who had been willing to cosponsor the bill, has pulled back. When hearings are held by the Senate Post Office Committee, the subject will come up again and it is predictable that Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.), a staunch opponent of compulsory unionism, will be heard.

The postal reform bill would have created a government corporation to run the United States mails, taking the Post Office out of politics and allowing those in charge to introduce sound procedures. It would have given the American people the kind of postal service they desire and removed the red-ink item from the federal budget.

Defeat of the measure in the House Post Office Committee means that mail service will limp along, becoming worse and worse. A substitute bill introduced by the committee chairman, Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski (D.-N.Y.) merely attempts to hold together the postal one-horse shay with bailing wire and adhesive tape, but fails to get at the root of the Post Office Department's major problems—political interference and congressional ineptitude.

While Postmaster General Winton Blount (left), plugged hard for the Nixon Administration's postal reform bill, its tie-vote rejection reflected growing dissatisfaction with the compulsory unionism potential in the bill. Among those who voted against the measure in committee was conservative GOP Rep. Bill Scott of Virginia.

The defeat of the proposal also underscores one of the Nixon Administration's major weaknesses—its belief that it can keep opposing principles and viewpoints in line by conceding a bit to each. Had the White House ordered amendment of the postal reform bill, making it clear that no federal employe would ever be forced to join a union, the outcome would have been different.

If the Senate sticks to principle and enacts an amended postal reform bill, there will be an off chance that in the near future the American taxpayer will get a dollar's worth of postal service for a dollar paid. But the defeat in the House committee has thrown up an obstacle which the Senate may not be able to bypass. At the very best, it has complicated the legislative process, and all because the Administration, which owes nothing to labor for its election, boggled at taking a stand against compulsory unionism.


(Copyright 1969, King Features Synd.)



## Alarming Aims of Institute for Policy Studies

Page 8

## 'The Great Western Myth'

Page 12

## U.S. to Finance Mideast War Damage?

Page 7



NEWSPAPER

UNIV OF MINNESOTA 43
SERIALS RECORDS 4
LIBRARIES
MINNEAPOLIS MN 55455

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Capital Briefs

● **Sam Brown,** co-ordinator of the October 15 Viet Nam Moratorium, has acknowledged that he favors a Viet Cong victory. New York City's Metromedia television commentator Dr. Martin Abend says Brown vigorously endorsed the Viet Cong in a heated discussion with him and several other onlookers several months ago. His pro-Viet Cong sentiment, Dr. Abend says, may help to explain his "keen interest in our immediate withdrawal from Viet Nam."

● Intimates of Sen. **Hugh Scott** (R.-Pa.), the new GOP Senate leader, insist that he hopes to "avoid any" vote on the nomination of Judge Haynsworth to the Supreme Court and will move to the "dove" side of the war on Viet Nam in the months ahead.

● **Daniel J. Walker,** author of the famous "Walker report" which bluntly blamed the police for the riots at the 1968 Democratic National Convention, turns out to be something of a peacenik himself. Last week Walker, chairman of the Chicago Crime Commission, participated in the Viet Nam moratorium to call for an "earnest" withdrawal process and more than just a "10 per cent reduction of B-52 bombing raids. . . ."

● Crime is on the increase in the normally placid country of Sweden. The cause? The over 300 **U.S. armed forces deserters** to whom Sweden has granted automatic asylum over the past few years. Swedish police, who have summarily evicted a number of delinquent deserters, maintain that one out of every six of the American expatriates has been in trouble with the law, with their crimes ranging from petty theft to dope peddling to bank robbery.

● White House staffers are looking into a report that **Arthur Waskow,** a radical-leftist who says he has a "gut preference for disorder," may turn out to be the chief consultant to a new Center for the Administration of Justice at American University. The Justice Department recently agreed to underwrite loans and grants to create the center. (For more on Waskow's activities see page 8.)

● Apparently bowing to the radically controlled Local 41 of the Federation of Government Employes, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare **Robert Finch** has removed California table grapes from HEW cafeterias.

● New York Mayor John Lindsay is standing by **Anthony M. Scotto,** the political ally who has been named a captain in the Cosa Nostra by the FBI. Scotto, who runs the Brooklyn waterfront with an iron hand, is actively supporting Lindsay's re-election. But if Lindsay is embarrassed by Scotto's backing, he's keeping it a secret. Aides said last week that the mayor had no intention of "running out" on the reputed mobster.

● GOP leaders in the Deep South report that President Nixon has the overwhelming **support of Dixie voters.** "He's making the South a part of the country," GOP State Chairman Wiley Wasden of Georgia said. "Nixon would carry Georgia today." And in Alabama, Republican State Chairman Richard Bennett says: "People liked President Eisenhower, but I don't think he really had the full support Nixon has down here. Even the Democrats are reluctant to say too much bad about Nixon."

● Massachusetts Republicans may ask **Erwin D. Canham,** editor-in-chief of the Christian Science Monitor, to oppose Teddy Kennedy next year. Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R.-Mass.), who made the disclosure, said, "We certainly are not going to give Ted Kennedy a bye. He's going to have to run for re-election" Other possibilities for the nomination: Representatives Silvio Conte and Brad Morse and State Sen. John M. Quinlan.

● Third-party leader **George C. Wallace,** who wants to run for President again in 1972, has confirmed that he will make a trip to South Viet Nam in November. Wallace's September Newsletter indicates he has not yet formulated his own plan for winding up the war.

● A one-time campaign consultant to President Nixon has accepted the challenge of directing a GOP primary campaign next year against New York's ultra-liberal flip-flopper, Sen. Charles Goodell. **Gilbert Robinson,** who campaigned for John Lindsay in 1965 and Nelson Rockefeller in 1966 as well as in Nixon's '68 race, will be campaign manager for New York State Sen. Edward Speno, the only Republican candidate thus far against the unpopular Goodell. Appointed to the Senate by Rockefeller in 1968, Goodell has since angered many of his party's leaders with his repeated efforts to sandbag President Nixon.

● The State Department has let the leftist government of Sweden know that if the Scandinavian nation goes ahead with plans to grant economic aid to North Viet Nam, the U.S. will "consider the possibility" of **financial reprisals.** A Swedish government official had recently said the country wanted to give some $40 million to Hanoi over a three-year period. Among other possible reprisals, the U.S. could refuse further Export-Import bank loans to Swedish projects.

● Recent visitors to the Democratic National Committee's Washington headquarters have noted that the reception room is bedecked with large portraits of such party heroes as Harry Truman, Adlai Stevenson, John F. Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, Sen. Edmund Muskie and party Chairman Sen. Fred Harris. Conspicuously missing: **Lyndon B. Johnson.**

● Lost in the furor over the Viet Nam Moratorium: A record 35,000 enemy soldiers and political cadre have **defected to the South Vietnamese** side this year, it was announced in Saigon. The defectors turned in more than 2,200 weapons.

● Pollster Lou Harris confirms what anxious politicians have feared—that a full-fledged **tax revolt** is spreading across the country. Harris reports that "the broad middle of American life has become deeply disaffected on the subject of money," that six of every 10 families feel their incomes simply cannot keep pace with the rising cost of living. Less than one family in 10 says its income is out-pacing the cost of living.


# HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

**FOUNDED IN 1944**

FRANK C. HANIGHEN (1899-1964)
JAMES L. WICK (1897-1964)
MILTON I. WICK, *Publisher Emeritus*

The Declaration of Independence begins: "When in the course of *Human Events*. . . ."

In reporting the news, *Human Events* is objective; it aims for accurate presentation of the facts. But it is *not* impartial. It looks at events through eyes that are biased in favor of limited constitutional government, local self-government, private enterprise and individual freedom. These principles represented the bias of the Founding Fathers. We think the same bias will preserve freedom in America.

•

EDITOR . . . . . Thomas S. Winter
CAPITOL HILL EDITOR . . . . . Allan H. Ryskind
MANAGING EDITOR . . . . . Robert F. Latham
ASSISTANT EDITOR . . . . . Gary W. Russell
EDITORIAL RESEARCHER . . . . . Dawne Cina
EDITORIAL PRODUCTION . . . . . Henry L. Heyward

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Paul Bethel, Terry Catchpole, M. Stanton Evans, Phillip Abbott Luce, the Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J., Frederic Nelson, Phyllis Schlafly

•

PUBLISHER . . . . . Robert D. Kephart
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER . . . . . David A. Gessert
PROMOTION CONSULTANT . . . . . Patrick J. Gorman
ART DIRECTOR . . . . . Jack Stricker
SHIPPING MANAGER . . . . . Ray McMurray

★

*Human Events* is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One-year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon at right).

Bound volumes, fully indexed. Any year, $20.00. Any six years $100.00.

1968 in 1 Volume
1967 in 1 Volume
1966 in 1 Volume
1962 in 2 Volumes
1961 in 2 Volumes

Past volumes of *Human Events* on microfilm available directly from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Reprinted bound volumes, 1960 and prior, available directly from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

*Human Events* cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Human Events*.

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

**ADDRESS CHANGES:** Write new address, city, state and ZIP Code on plain sheet of paper. Attach mailing label from an issue of HUMAN EVENTS and send to: Circulation Department, HUMAN EVENTS, 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Allow 3 to 4 weeks for change to become effective.


# Contents


Behind the Post Office Reform Defeat—By Ralph de Toledano ..... 1
Aim of Anti-War Protesters: Quick Defeat of U.S. Forces—From the Allen-Goldsmith Report ..... 6
Will U.S. Finance Mideast War Damage?—By Paul Scott ..... 7
The Ordeal of Anthony Grey—From the Arizona Republic ..... 7
Radical Think-Tank—By Shirley Scheibla ..... 8
How Big Labor Plans to Unionize the Banks—By Victor Riesel ..... 10
Karl Marx: Theorist or Activist?—By Russell Kirk ..... 10
Gambling With U.S. Defenses—By Holmes Alexander ..... 11
Does Nixon Believe the "Great Western Myth"?—By Edgar A. Mowrer ..... 12
The Grape Boycott Comes to Michigan—By Henry P. Zuidema ..... 13
Spotlight on Congress ..... 15



HUMAN EVENTS
422 First Street, S.E. • Washington, D. C. 20003

**SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE FORM**

MY NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

**SEND GIFT SUBSCRIPTION TO:**

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

Sign Gift Card " _____ "

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
☐ 6 months, $7.00
☐ 1 year, $12.50
☐ 2 years, $22.50

☐ New
☐ Renewal
☐ Payment enclosed
☐ Bill me

**Back Issues:** 1 copy, 35¢; 2-10, 30¢ ea.; 11-50, 25¢ ea.; 51-500, 20¢ ea. *Over 500 copies by special pre-publication arrangement only.* (Copies of any one issue—not a mixed assortment of several issues—sent to a single address via 3rd or 4th-class mail. Payment required with order.)

☐ Send me ____ copies of issue dated _____.

10/25/69





PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Moratorium Post-Mortem

In analyzing the October 15 "anti-war" demonstrations, veteran anti-Communists in the Nation's Capital make these observations:

*1.* The pro-Hanoi faction in the "peace movement" got what it wanted—massive enough demonstrations and publicity to seriously undermine U.S. power and prestige abroad. The marches increased doubts in South Viet Nam that the United States will continue to support the Saigon government and they greatly lifted the morale of the Communist leaders in Hanoi. Now believing even more strongly that America will soon capitulate to "popular" pressures at home, Hanoi will undoubtedly be able to keep up its war effort.

*2.* The demonstrations clearly made it far more difficult for our chief negotiator in Paris, Henry Cabot Lodge, to convince the Communists that we don't intend to "bug out" of South Viet Nam. As the Associated Press reported last week: "Against the background of European newspaper headlines and radio reports on the Moratorium Day ceremonies, Lodge's position was extremely difficult. In effect, he was speaking for a government described in Europe as losing support of the American masses on the Viet Nam issue. None of this was lost on the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong delegates. . . .The Communists said nothing strikingly new, but their statements tended to exploit the U.S. peace movement. North Vietnamese delegate Xuan Thuy. . . described the Moratorium as an 'opposition movement of the American people, a movement on a nationwide scale, the strongest and most widespread ever known in the United States.'"

*3.* Part of the reason the demonstrations had such a worldwide impact can be traced to the failure of both the Administration and patriotically motivated congressional leaders to alert the American public to the nature of the Moratorium's leadership and expose its goals well in advance of the anti-war protest. (Vice President Agnew's efforts to bring this to the attention of the public were welcome, but too tardy to discourage the momentum of the Moratorium.)

Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. lights a candle prior to a march from the Lincoln Memorial to the White House during Moratorium Day. With her is former District of Columbia City Councilman Walter Fauntroy.

Neither the House Committee on Internal Security nor the Senate Internal Security subcommittee has yet done an adequate job in exposing the current peace offensive as Communist-saturated and pro-Viet Cong in its thrust. The mass media, which are so eager to detect the slightest "Birch" odor in any and every conservative cause, have somehow been completely unable to find the scent of communism in the peace movement.

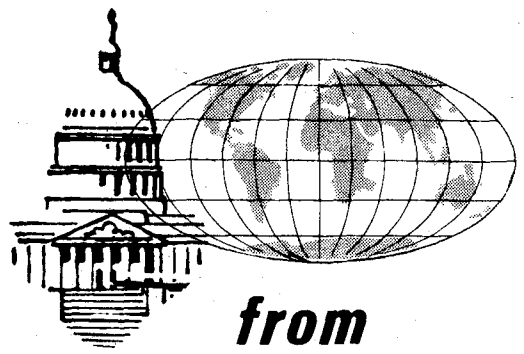
In arguing against the Moratorium's goals, Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.) revealed that Moratorium leader David Mixner had admitted to him that the aim of the demonstration was to "show that it is politically possible, and desirable, to support complete, immediate and unilateral withdrawal. We want out now, and this is not contingent on anything that Hanoi or the Viet Cong might do." Yet the press did not play up the point.

The American people were also not informed that Sam Brown, the chief Moratorium organizer, welcomes a Viet Cong victory. They were not informed that he thinks the United States is now the "great imperialist aggressor nation in the world." They did not know that the Moratorium Committee worked hand in glove with the New Mobilization Committee and that "New Mobe" is clearly a Communist-saturated organization whose steering committee is comprised of a majority of persons who desire a Viet Cong victory.

*4.* "New Mobe," in cooperation with Moratorium leaders, is already revving up for the November operation, which is to culminate in massive marches on Washington and San Francisco on November 15. The Administration and the appropriate congressional committees should now begin to launch a sustained campaign to expose the purpose of the demonstration and the background of the demonstration leaders. A vigorous effort should also be made to rally the majority of the American people to the Administration's side. Unless this is done, the "peace protesters" will continue to score significant gains for Hanoi.

• For those who wish to receive detailed information

**THIS WEEK'S NEWS**



***from***

**Inside Washington**

on the Moratorium and the current "peace offensive," *Human Events* suggests that it readers obtain a copy of Rep. John Ashbrook's (R.-Ohio) remarks on the subject in the October 16 *Congressional Record,* starting on page E 8581. Rep. Ashbrook's office informs us that reprints will be made available shortly and can be ordered from his office in Washington.

• In the wake of last week's demonstration which undermined our foreign policy and was openly supported by Hanoi, *Human Events* is again listing the senators and representatives who signed a letter endorsing the Vietnam Moratorium Committee which coordinated the October 15 protest. We again invite our readers to ask these lawmakers why they supported the VMC; copies of their replies would be greatly appreciated by the editors:

Senators who signed the letter supporting the October 15 anti-war demonstrations were:

**Democrats:** Bayh (Ind.), Church (Idaho), Cranston (Calif.), Eagleton (Mo.), Harris (Okla.), Hart (Mich.), Hartke (Ind.), Hughes (Iowa), McCarthy (Minn.), McGovern (N.D.), Mondale (Minn.), Nelson (Wis.), Randolph (W. Va.), Tydings (Md.), Young (Ohio).

**Republicans:** Goodell (N.Y.), Hatfield (Ore.).

Representatives who signed the letter included:

**Democrats:** Adams (Wash.), Bingham (N.Y.), Boland (Mass.), Brademas (Ind.), Brown, Jr. (Calif.), Burton (Calif.), Chisholm (N.Y.), Clay (Mo.), Conyers (Mich.), Eckhardt (Tex.), Edwards (Calif.), Farbstein (N.Y.), Fraser (Minn.), Gilbert (N.Y.), Hawkins (Calif.), Hechler (W. Va.), Green (Pa.), Jacobs, Jr. (Ind.), Kastenmeier (Wis.), Koch (N.Y.), Lowenstein (N.Y.), Mikva (Ill.), Mink (Hawaii), Moorhead (Pa.), Ottinger (N.Y.), Podell (N.Y.), Rees (Calif.), Rosenthal (N.Y.), Roybal (Calif.), Ryan (N.Y.), St.Onge (Conn.), Scheuer (N.Y.), Stokes (Ohio), Thompson, Jr. (N.J.), Tiernan (R.I.), Tunney (Calif.), Udall (Ariz.).

**Republicans:** Button (N.Y.), Conte (Mass.), Esch (Mich.), Findley (Ill.), Halpern (N.Y.), McCloskey, Jr. (Calif.), Morse (Mass.), Reid (N.Y.), Riegle Jr. (Mich.).

## Patriots Assail 'Mr. Fun City'

Mayor John Lindsay's strenuous efforts to rally New York City behind the October 15 Moratorium has now developed into a major campaign issue in the city's increasingly torrid mayoralty race. Both Democratic candidate Mario Procaccino and Conservative-Republican nominee John Marchi have laced into the mayor for his role in the entire affair, but Marchi's condemnations have clearly been the harsher.

"He has planted a dagger in the back of American servicemen in Viet Nam," Marchi contended last week, "and I can't find words strong enough to condemn him."

Lindsay's actions, stressed the state senator, are "a transparent ploy to conceal the deficiencies of his administration. He has displayed wanton disregard for the sensitivity of the problem of how to end the war in Viet Nam and subordinated important national issues to a municipal campaign.

**"The cause of international peace and the early return of our troops have received a setback, and the American people have suffered a severe setback." Marchi termed the mayor's actions both politically "selfish" and militarily "harmful."**

The mayor's dramatic moves last week on behalf of the war protesters, it is believed, is part of his strategy to stir new fervor among his liberal supporters. As many political observers now see it, Lindsay, despite his unpopularity, could still squeak through in November if he can attract a large number of liberal votes while Marchi and Procaccino evenly split the rest of the electorate.

Lindsay's "honoring" of the Moratorium, however, also revealed certain political dangers. While the mayor was ordering city flags to be lowered in "mourning" and giving what has been described as a "maudlin, uneducated cut-and-run" speech to protestors in Bryant Park, many citizens and important groups showed their revulsion at the mayor's actions.

Many in the city flew their flags at full staff while buses, taxis and patrol cars kept their lights on as a gesture of Administration support. The Uniformed Firefighters Association proclaimed it would take no part "in this day of national disgrace," while the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association condemned "organized public attacks on foreign policy of the United States."

When the mayor requested that all public schools be closed, acting superintendent Nathan Brown remarked that school children living in poverty areas—the same children Lindsay professes to have so much feeling for—would be deprived of their free lunches as a result. The schools stayed open.

New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller also displayed his contempt for Lindsay by flying the U.S. flag over his New York City headquarters at full staff and Baseball Commissioner Bowie Kuhn ordered the flag at Shea Stadium to be flown at the top of the pole.

On Moratorium day, the flag over City Hall was lowered in accordance with the mayor's wishes, but Lindsay was assailed with catcalls when he appeared on City Hall steps to read his proclamation.

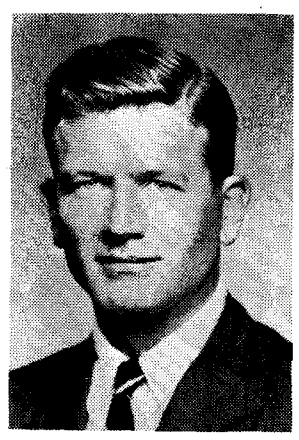
"Put that flag up, Lindsay, you creep!" shouted the protesters, who drowned out his proclamation with vigorous booing. Groans changed to huzzas later when Councilman Matthew Troy Jr. of Queens reached the Stars and Stripes and hoisted it full staff until the custodial staff of City Hall lowered it again.

Even the United States Flag Foundation, a watchdog of flag usage, took a sideswipe at the mayor. It announced that he had no right to order the U.S. flag flown at half staff, since the "flag of the United States can only be flown at half-staff by presidential proclamation or by the decree of Congress."

Whether the mayor would gain or lose by making his bid with the "peace at any price" types is still



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LINDSAY

GRAY

unclear, but he had, at any rate, managed to transform the war into a major "municipal" issue.

• Aside from joining with the militant anti-war demonstrators in his mayoralty campaign, Lindsay has also decided to rise to the defense of Jesse Gray, the Harlem rent-strike leader and Democratic candidate for the City Council. Sen. Marchi had originally characterized Gray, a militant pro-Communist black who has called for guerrilla warfare in the cities, as a "purveyor of hate." When asked at a press conference whether he, like Marchi, believed Gray to be "an extremist," Lindsay nonchalantly declared: "I have not seen any signs that this is a fair assessment of this person."

Lindsay's office, however, apparently decided to alter the mayor's stance a wee bit when it was discovered that his comments on Gray might not be well received in the Jewish community, which Lindsay is desperately trying to win back after his mishandling of the school crisis. A few hours following Lindsay's statement exonerating Gray of "extremist" charges, his office "clarified" matters by issuing the following statement:

"The mayor's comment was made with the assumption that all reporters were familiar with his previous vehement denunciation of Jesse Gray's well-known anti-Semitic leaflets and other actions appealing to racial and religious hatred."

## Ethics of Haynsworth Foes

Largely as a result of unproved charges hurled at Judge Clement Haynsworth Jr., seven members of the Senate Judiciary Committee have voted to oppose his nomination to the Supreme Court. Yet four of the seven, it has been discovered, are not nearly as meticulous or as open about their own financial dealings as is the South Carolina jurist.

**Whereas Haynsworth voluntarily fully opened his stock portfolio and financial arrangements so they could be examined in the minutest detail by the entire Senate, the press and the public, the four Haynsworth foes have applied quite a different set of ethics for themselves.**

Under a recent law, for instance, senators are supposed to "reveal" their holdings, but these holdings are not made public. They are placed in sealed envelopes and filed every May 15 with the General Accounting Office. Furthermore, the envelopes can be opened only by the Senate's Select Committee on Standards and Conduct and then only during an investigation of alleged violation of Senate rules. In the words of one senator, they are "guarded with the elaborate security usually reserved for the most delicate items of national security."

Some Senate Judiciary members—including Philip A. Hart (D.-Mich.) and Charles Mathias (R.-Md.), both of whom voted against Haynsworth—have made public disclosures of their assets and liabilities, but other pious opponents have refused to do so.

The non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly,* for instance, revealed that Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.), the leading opponent of Haynsworth on the Judiciary Committee, had "made an oral public disclosure to a reporter in 1964, in the second year of his first term of office, but has not done so since then, according to his secretary. No public disclosure was available in his office as of Oct. 8, 1969." Bayh's legislative assistant, Bob Keefe, "was unable to say if the senator had ever avoided voting to prevent conflict of interest. . . .Keefe did not have information about stocks Bayh might own or how Bayh handles stock decisions."

Quentin N. Burdick (D.-N.D.), another Haynsworth foe, has voted in favor of financial disclosure by members of Congress but has not taken the step on his own. He says he "will be glad to announce what I own when the person who is running against me is required to do the same."

Robert P. Griffin (R.-Mich.), another foe of Haynsworth, publishes a limited financial disclosure which lists interest and dividend income, but Griffin doesn't reveal what stocks he owns.

Teddy Kennedy (D.-Mass.), who is always prattling about everyone's ethics but his own and who is probably the wealthiest member of the Judiciary Committee, has, in the words of *Congressional Quarterly,* "never made a public disclosure of his assets, liabilities or net worth. He does not abstain from voting on issues because of potential conflicts of interest."

• The AFL-CIO is flexing its muscles in an all-out effort to block Senate confirmation of Judge Clement Haynsworth Jr. to the U.S. Supreme Court. Jay Lovestone, director of international affairs for the huge labor organization, recently called his old friend Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), hoping to get an anti-Haynsworth commitment. "We don't usually use Jay on something like this," an AFL-CIO staff man was quoted in the Los Angeles *Times* last week, "But the Haynsworth case is special."

The Connecticut lawmaker, up for re-election next year, rates special attention from the labor barons because he was the only liberal Democrat on the Judiciary Committee to cast a favorable vote for the South Carolina jurist.

Sen. Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.) was paid an unusual call from Al Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), before voting "no" on the nomination. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.), the GOP's new Senate leader, is also under continuing pressure to help sink Haynsworth. Scott has been pressured to vote "no" by the only Republican in the AFL-CIO hierarchy, Lee W. Minton of Philadelphia, president of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.

Because Haynsworth has refused to cave in to union demands in cases he has sat on, the powerful labor barons want him out of the way. Whether they can force Dodd and Scott—both of whom voted for Haynsworth in committee—to reverse their stands remains to be seen.

## Nixon Threatens 'Economy Veto'

In pushing his fight against inflation last week, President Nixon warned both House and Senate lawmakers that he would veto any legislation that might wreak havoc with the fiscal 1970 budget. The President was clearly taking a direct potshot at lawmakers who endorsed the federal salary act for postal employes last week in the House and demagogic Democrats now pushing Social Security proposals that would boost such benefits far above the 10 per cent endorsed by the Administration.

**In order to successfully battle inflation, the President insisted he was unalterably committed to a fiscal 1970 budget of $192.9 billion.**

The President's warning was welcomed by conservatives who have been fuming at the current non-economy wave passing through both houses of Congress. Earlier this month, for instance, Gale McGee (D.-Wyo.) successfully led the fight in the Senate for a special civil service retirement law that also happens to benefit incumbent lawmakers.

The bill (S 2754), which will probably be enacted into law by the time the reader sees this, will cost the taxpayers an extra $2 billion a year for the purpose of supporting retirement benefits of government employes.

Furthermore, as Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) said in debating this legislation, the bill will lessen the already weak desire of government officials and lawmakers to economize.

Under the bill, says Williams, "it is guaranteed to all retired government employes that, from this day forward, not only will their pensions be protected against the ravages of inflation but also that government employes will actually *make* 25 per cent on the inflation that develops from the day they retire.

"That is, as the cost of living goes up 3 per cent, for example, the retirement benefits will increase 3 per cent plus 1 per cent, which means the benefits will increase 4 per cent for every 3 per cent increase in the cost of living.

"It is an escalation clause which means that from now on government employes—including ourselves and those in the executive department who are responsible for inflation—will actually make money. Government employes, alone of all the American people, will now be guaranteed that their pensions will never be adversely affected by inflation."

**Overriding vigorous protests from President Nixon, the House last week approved another bill to increase the pay of federal employes, this time the postal workers.**

In a last-minute appeal to the House, the President stressed that the bill, pushed by Rep. Morris Udall (D.-Ariz.), would "balloon expenditures in the remainder of this fiscal year by $1.5 billion" and would cost about $4.3 billion in subsequent years. The President also warned that the immediate pay increases provided for postal workers would require cutbacks in postal service, including elimination of Saturday deliveries and window service.

Furthermore, the pay bill would boost federal postal salaries a whopping 5.4 per cent, even though the postal employes just received a 4.1 per cent raise in July.

Nixon's veto threats, then, have come none too early and the hope is that the President will employ this device as often as necessary to protect the taxpayer.

## New Directions for USIA

The United States Information Agency is receiving quite a shakeup these days. No longer content with the straight liberal pap funnelled out by the agency during the Kennedy-Johnson years, USIA chieftain Frank Shakespeare, who put William F. Buckley on the agency's advisory board, is steering his department starboard.

SHAKESPEARE

Shakespeare, for instance, is convinced that the periodicals, pamphlets and books distributed by USIA overseas "have been more reflective of the liberal position than they have of the conservative." "I want balance," he insists.

The new head of USIA's press and publications service, Ken Towery, a former assistant to Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.), agrees. Towery insists, "We're going to go right down the middle, but I think this is going to be quite an undertaking, insofar as I think, obviously, most of our editors are of liberal persuasion."

Special attention, noted the Philadelphia *Bulletin* the other day, has been placed on a double-domed quarterly called *Dialogue,* which the agency publishes and distributes to carefully selected intellectuals around the world. Recent issues have included articles by Mayor John Lindsay, the late Rev. Martin Luther King and Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith, past chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action.

Shakespeare has specifically suggested that the magazine include articles by such conservatives as Russell Kirk, whose writings have actually been panned in *Dialogue* in the past.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The new USIA captain has also placed on USIA bookshelves such hard-hitting anti-Communist books as *Dagger in the Heart* by Cuban refugee Mario Lazo. Lazo's tome blasts the United States for helping Castro into power and is severely critical of the New York *Times*, its Latin American expert Herbert Matthews, long-time Castro apologist, and some other liberal sacred cows, such as Dr. Milton Eisenhower.

But Shakespeare heartily endorses Lazo's book for USIA libraries and personally took the author to meet the agency's assistant director for Latin America. Shakespeare stresses that he would take a responsible book with a contrary viewpoint, but none of Matthews' three books on Cuba is considered in this category. An agency spokesman is quoted as saying they "did not represent a balanced view" and would not "be suitable for non-American offices."

Neither do the libraries contain Norman Mailer's *The Armies of the Night*, a sympathetic treatment of a massive protest directed against the Pentagon in October 1967. According to Henry A. Dunlap, USIA assistant director in charge of the book program, "*The Armies of the Night* is "hippie-beatnik type of stuff." He said it contained "language and comments on prominent Americans" that he found objectionable.

**"My main worry," says Dunlap, "is putting books in the hands of foreigners who will make a judgment about the United States based on what they read in that book. A lot of the stuff we turn down we think that foreigners who read it would certainly get a lousy impression of the society it supposedly represents."**

Dunlap also opposes stocking the shelves with "dirty language" volumes and has ruled out *Couples*, a best-seller dealing with extra-marital affairs in suburbia. "There continue to be belles-lettres written that don't use bad language," he states, and "the people who talk in bad language tend to talk not intelligently."

In brief, Frank Shakespeare is attempting to do what he's paid to do: inform the world as to the nature of our Communist enemy and give the U.S. a good image abroad.

## Why Continue OEO?

With Senators Peter Dominick (R.-Colo.) and George Murphy (R.-Calif.) leading the way, the Senate last week slashed funds for the Office of Economic Opportunity and gave state governors an item veto over the anti-poverty program's "legal services."

Dominick's amendment (see vote below) cut $292 million from the OEO budget. Murphy offered his proposal to curb OEO's legal services because militant poverty lawyers have been attempting to radically change the laws in an effort to benefit leftists and revolutionaries.

**Despite their energetic efforts, however, the Senate approved a two-year, $4.8-billion extension of the federal war on poverty—a program many people had believed President Nixon would quickly eliminate when he came to office.**

While OEO's new chieftain, former Rep. Donald Rumsfeld, has made an attempt to "change" the anti-poverty program for the better, the OEO has not been dramatically altered. Waste still exists on a large scale and militants and revolutionaries continue to be funded.

In Chicago recently the Cook County OEO was shown to have failed to pay $329,000 in federal withholding taxes. The Chicago *Tribune* discovered that Mrs. Frances Loman, a woman with a radical past, became a director of the Cook County OEO in 1966 and was elected treasurer of the agency last May. A Communist newspaper credited both Mrs. Loman and her husband with recruiting 17 persons into the party in 1944, though in 1959 Mr. Loman was suspended from positions on the national committee of the U.S. Communist party and as chairman of the Kings County, New York, branch of the party.

*Human Events* also has it on unimpeachable authority that the OEO is still funding the Blackstone Rangers gang in Chicago and is supporting leaders of US, the para-military, black racist group headed by California's Ron Karenga. Karenga's group is considered one of the most dangerous black "Mafia" groups in existence.

While Rumsfeld was unaware of it, OEO militants distributed numerous copies of an inflammatory "training" manual to every OEO regional office in the country. Called "Trainer's Manual for Community Action Agency Boards," the booklet stressed that recourse to rioting is a legitimate means for gaining proper community action.

That the OEO employes have not changed under Rumsfeld was dramatically underscored last week when 1,000 community action leaders from across the country gathered at a three-day conference of the National Association for Community Development in Maryland.

When OEO Director Rumsfeld asked the nation's community action leaders to avoid "tactics of confrontation," he was promptly denounced from the floor. The conferees, in fact, quickly adopted a position paper that accused the Nixon Administration of being the "enemy of the poor" and urged all Americans to join "the army of dissenters."

In brief, the OEO does not look much better under Nixon than it did under Johnson.

• Following is the vote by which the Senate on October 14 adopted Sen. Dominick's amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act which provided for the elimination of additional authorizations totalling $292.1 million for the fiscal year 1970.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 47

DEMOCRATS (13): Allen, Byrd (Va.), Ellender, Ervin, Holland, Hollings, Jordan (N.C.), Long, McClellan, Russell, Sparkman, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (34): Aiken, Allott, Baker, Bellmon, Bennett, Boggs, Cooper, Cotton, Curtis, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Goldwater, Griffin, Gurney, Hansen, Hatfield, Hruska, Javits, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Packwood, Pearson, Prouty, Saxbe, Schweiker, Scott, Smith (Maine), Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 38

DEMOCRATS (37): Anderson, Bayh, Bible, Burdick, Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Church, Cranston, Eagleton, Gore, Gravel, Hart, Hartke, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy, Magnuson, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Moss, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Spong, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (1): Mathias

NOT VOTING: 15

## Friedman Explains 'Unemployment'

The Democratic party, which saddled President Nixon with a runaway inflation problem, has now come out swinging at the current Administration because its efforts to cool off the economy may have caused a rise in unemployment.

Democratic politicos, for instance, have been hollering at the President for "permitting" the unemployment rate to "jump from 3.5 per cent to 4 per cent."

**Dr. Milton Friedman, the nationally known economist, however, complains that the unemployment rate is both misunderstood and misinterpreted.**

Do the latest figures, asks Friedman in his *Newsweek* column, mean that more than three million families are wondering where the next paycheck is coming from? "Not at all," he responds. "Roughly one million unemployed are teen-agers, about half of whom are looking for their first job. Of the remaining unemployed, half are females, many of whom are not regular earners. Of the million unemployed males 20 years and over, only about half are married men.

"More important, unemployment is mostly a brief period between jobs—or between school or housework and a job. Nearly two-thirds were either working in the prior month or not looking for a job. Only slightly more than a million were unemployed.

"Put differently, fewer than half of the currently unemployed have been unemployed for as long as five weeks; only 5 per cent—about 150,000—for as long as six months. This is the hard-core group that leaps to mind when we talk about 'the unemployed'. Their plight is certainly serious—but 150,000 persons in that position is a far cry from three million."

These figures, notes Friedman, are not desirable, but neither are they a major catastrophe. They don't spell acute distress and "their avoidance does not justify letting inflation run rampant—which would in any event only postpone higher unemployment temporarily. We badly need less hysteria and dogmatism and more perspective, proportion and balance in judging these matters."

## U.N. Panel Declares 'War'

A United Nations committee has declared war—literally—on the government of South Africa. In a move largely ignored by the nation's press, an 11-nation panel of the U.N. General Assembly called for direct aid to revolutionaries who seek to overthrow the pro-Western South African government.

The report, submitted by the assembly's Special Committee on Apartheid, declared that "fruitless appeals" for trade embargoes had failed to oust the Johannesburg regime. "In view of the intransigence of the South African government, the United Nations must give utmost assistance to the South African liberation movement in its legitimate struggle."

The report calls for U.N. members to contribute money, communications facilities, food, clothing and medicine to the revolutionary movements in southern Africa. It suggested the establishment of an independent radio station that would broadcast—presumably "liberation" propaganda—into South Africa.

Members of the 11-nation committee are Algeria, Costa Rica, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, the Philippines and Somalia, although U.N. officials have thus far refused to reveal the committee vote. The New York *Times* suggested that the report "may result in resolutions that the African-Asian bloc has more than enough votes to adopt." Power for actual enforcement seems absent, however.

## Scandal of Public Housing

Public housing—originally seen as a panacea for the poor—was described last week as a tragic failure. In a coast-to-coast survey, the New York *Times* reported that government housing was characterized by crushing deficits, widespread vandalism and rampant crime.

Conditions are so bad that in some cities the impoverished are forsaking the "projects" for life in tenements. In St. Louis, for instance, up to 40 per cent of the publicly financed apartments are vacant, shunned, the *Times* says, "by impoverished families who prefer the discomforts of the surrounding slum to the fear of crime in the projects."

And the situation is likely to worsen. For nine months many of the remaining St. Louis tenants have engaged in a well-organized "rent strike." Result: the buildings themselves are deteriorating rapidly. Housing officials say they can operate only three more months before bankruptcy.

St. Louis is hardly unusual, however. Housing authorities in 14 other cities are on "the verge of bankruptcy," according to Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney, and if present trends continue, Washington expects 200 more authorities to be in financial trouble soon.

**Living conditions in the government-financed projects are abominable. Windows stay broken for days or weeks at a time. Halls are filthy. Grounds are unkempt. Narcotics addicts strip copper from around window panes, letting wind and rain into apartments.**

Washington has no solutions for the dilemma it created. HUD bureaucrats have told city housing authorities that federal funds may not be used to hire private security guards to fight vandalism, but they can raise rents and admit "wealthier" tenants.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Aim of Anti-War Protesters: Quick Defeat of U.S. Forces

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The underlying purpose of the nationwide series of rallies, marches, vigils and other anti-Viet Nam war protests is "to open another front in the United States to speed up the complete defeat of U.S. forces."

Authority for that highly revealing statement is Bernardine Dohrn, interorganizational secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society.

The militant radical leader is quoted as saying this in *New Left Notes*, an SDS publication which the Marxist revolutionary organization is vigorously using to promote a number of mass demonstrations in October and November.

Miss Dohrn made the statement in telling about meetings in Cuba last July between an SDS delegation and North Viet Nam representatives. She headed the SDS group.

**At these carefully unpublicized Havana conferences Miss Dohrn is reported as declaring "U.S. forces are being defeated in Viet Nam," and fervently pledging "to do everything we can to speed up that defeat." To that end, she informed the North Vietnamese, "SDS plans to open another front in the United States" by staging a series of turbulent massive disturbances.**

She also truculently served notice that "all institutions which in any way support the war will be subject to attack," and avowed intention to put large quantities of propaganda in favor of North Viet Nam "in every subway, everywhere."

Also, all local SDS chapters were summoned to intensify their activities and propaganda "demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Viet Nam."

The seriousness of the disclosures regarding the secret meeting in Cuba between the SDS and Hanoi officials was strongly stressed by Rep. Richard Ichord (D.-Mo.), chairman of the House Internal Security Committee. He asserted their sinister significance cannot be exaggerated.

"There are some who may scoff at the significance of this meeting," he said, "but let us make no mistake. The SDS does not consider it insignificant. The intentions of SDS are abundantly clear. We have already seen the costly and disruptive effects of some of their stepped-up activities.

"In its plan to assist North Viet Nam by opening another front in the United States, the SDS is relying on collegiate dissidents and various other militants to bolster and accelerate this vicious drive. It would be foolhardy for anyone to ignore or to dismiss lightly the revolutionary terrorism of which SDS is capable. It is a serious threat to both the academic community and to a lawful and orderly society."

Listed in *New Left Notes* as the SDS' principal anti-Viet Nam war operations to "open another front in the United States" are:

• "November 8th Movement. November 8 is one year after Nixon was elected, a year that has seen thousands of people come to the movement. We will move in cities and towns throughout the country, leaving the mark of our growing strength at pig stations, draft boards, schools, courts and on the streets."

• "On November 15, there will be a mass action called by the New Mobilization Committee; hundreds of thousands of people will move on Washington, demanding the end of the war, racism and poverty in the United States."

• "Venceremos Brigade. A series of two-month trips to Cuba for 300 Movement people to participate in the Cuban peoples' 10-million-ton sugar harvest." [See *Human Events*, Oct. 4, 1969, page 8.]

The article concludes the list with the following ominous announcement:

"The fall offensive is only the beginning. Then will come the winter, spring and summer offensives, followed by another next fall—for however long it takes to win this struggle."

**Various other local and national organizations are engaged in planning anti-Viet Nam war and anti-draft affairs. Some are pacifist or religious in nature. Others, basically ideological, have Communist, revolutionary and New Left roots and ties.**

Prominent among these is the New Moblization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam (NMC). Head of NMC is David Dellinger, leading New Leftist and one of the eight defendants on trial in Chicago.

Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) commented caustically on the group of senators and congressmen who announced their intention to participate in the October 15 demonstration.

**"I wonder if they are aware of the kind of company they are keeping and of the possible misinterpretation of their intentions," said Fannin.**

"Are those who are aiding these groups prepared to accept the anarchy and chaos which these people are preparing to unleash among us? Are they aware that this strategy was formed during an East Berlin World Peace Conference held on June 25, 1969?

"Senators, congressmen and all others who are becoming involved in these operations should ask themselves this highly pertinent question: Whose work am I doing?"

★ ★ ★

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), plain-talking "watchdog of the House," gave Rep. Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.), Education and Labor Committee chairman, an uncomfortable few minutes with some caustic comments about the long-stalled student loan bill.

With characteristic bluntness, Gross charged Perkins with delaying final enactment of the urgent legislation—after assailing the House for not rushing it through.

"It makes no difference how thick or thin the gentlemen from Kentucky slices it," declared Gross, "but the fact remains this bill has been in conference for four weeks. This is the same bill about which he had a near heart attack on August 12, blaming House members for allegedly stalling the measure."

"Is the gentleman inferring that the House conferees capitulate," demanded Perkins, "and buy the Senate proposals all the way? Is that what the gentleman is advocating? And should the members of the House agree to that?"

**"Not at all," retorted Gross. "I am merely pointing out that you were bleeding at every pore on August 12, and blaming everybody you could for failure to pass the bill. Yet you have been in conference on the legislature for four long weeks, with no end in sight."**

"We have tried but failed," lamented Perkins, noting that Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.), sponsor of the measure and one of the conferees, was ill.

"In other words," observed Gross, "to use a common expression, for four weeks 'the monkey has been on your back,' and not on the backs of the rest of the members of the House."

"I regret that we have not brought the bill back before this time," said Perkins, "but it has been impossible. It has not been the fault of the chairman of the committee."

With that, Perkins sat down amid the grins of his amused colleagues.

★ ★ ★

It took the Senate three days of, at times torrid, debate to approve the House-passed bill dishing out another $7.5 million to the half-completed John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts on the Potomac near the famed Lincoln Memorial.

But there was one occasion when the noisy Senate listened with intent silence.

This was when Sen. Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), read a 1964 statement by Roger Stevens, then chairman of the Center's board, solemnly promising that if Congress voted the project $15 million, no additional money would be sought. Said Goldwater:

"As I recall, Mr. Stevens said, 'As far as I am concerned, as chairman of the board, I will assure the committee that we will not be back to seek any more money.' I have no desire to delay or abandon this project, but I have very serious doubts about the assurances we are now being given that this additional money will be the last. I am quite sure that we will be called upon to furnish another $10 or $15 million."

**Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), leading "peacenik" who is constantly assailing the military for overruns in weapons developments, vigorously defended the new money for the cultural center on the ground of "inflationary increases and high labor costs."**

"Ninety per cent of our national debt is due to the military," argued Fulbright. "Why pick on this little building?"

"Why pick on the military which has to cope with the same factors that you say are responsible for this overrun?" retorted Goldwater. "The armed forces provide the defenses for the nation."

The debate brought out that it is now estimated the cost of the huge structure will be around $66.2 million instead of $46 million as originally claimed.

(Copyright 1969, Publishers-Hall Syndicate Inc.)

□ □ □

**CUBAN HUNGER STRIKE**—Cuban exile leaders in this country report that inmates at La Cabana prison, a maximum security facility for anti-Castro political prisoners, are participating in a hunger strike and demanding "deportation or death." If news of the hunger strike gets circulated in Cuba, exile leaders feel, it would help buttress opposition to the Castro Communist government among the people.

"**Human Events** is 'first reading' when it arrives every week. **Human Events** provides valuable intellectual leadership and documentation for letters, speeches and educational material in our struggle against the rise of a Socialist dictator."

—JOE CRAIL
President, Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association.

**HELP HUMAN EVENTS GROW DURING ITS 25TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR!**
Send $1 trial subscriptions to your relatives, friends, co-workers, local community leaders and civic groups. Do it **now.**

Name_____ (Please Print)
Address_____
City_____
State_____ ZIP_____
Gift Card to read "_____"

Name_____ (Please Print)
Address_____
City_____
State_____ ZIP_____
Gift Card to read "_____"

Name_____ (Please Print)
Address_____
City_____
State_____ ZIP_____
Gift Card to read "_____"

Name_____ (Please Print)
Address_____
City_____
State_____ ZIP_____
Gift Card to read "_____"

Name_____ (Please Print)
Address_____
City_____
State_____ ZIP_____
Gift Card to read "_____"

Name_____ (Please Print)
Address_____
City_____
State_____ ZIP_____
Gift Card to read "_____"

Name_____ se Print)
Address_____
City_____
State_____ ZIP_____
Gift Card to read "_____"

Gentlemen:
Please enter 5-week introductory subscriptions to HUMAN EVENTS for the persons named above, at just $1 each. I understand the expenses of billing are prohibited by the low rate, so I enclose my payment of $_____ 10/25/69

Name_____ (Please Print)
Address_____
City_____
State_____ ZIP_____

Mail To: Human Events • 422 First Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003

**Please list additional subscriptions on your own stationery**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## *Foreign Aid 'Sleeper' Amendment*

# Will U.S. Finance Mideast War Damage?

By PAUL SCOTT

American taxpayers could wind up picking up most of the tab for the Arab-Israeli fighting under a "sleeper" amendment attached to the $2-billion foreign aid bill by the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The unpublicized amendment, approved during a recent stormy closed-door committee meeting, would make it official U.S. policy to finance "the rehabilitation and restoration of public services and facilities damaged by war in the Middle East."

Sponsored by Rep. Donald Fraser (D.-Minn.), the explosive amendment also provides that American foreign aid funds could be used by the President over the next five years to pay for:

- "Peacekeeping activities throughout the Middle East;
- "Resettlement and vocational training of war refugees;
- "Programs of health, education, agriculture and community development."

The over-all amount of foreign aid to be spent on these Middle East projects would be left up to the President to specify each year in his annual budget message to Congress.

**"The language of the Fraser amendment is so general," stated Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) in opposing the amendment in the committee, that it can be used to rebuild the entire Middle East.**

*The "blank check" authorization* was approved in a close committee vote after Rep. Fraser withdrew his original amendment which provided for $100 million a year for the next five years.

The half-billion-dollar price tag was eliminated from the amendment after several committee members warned that the House would never accept a policy of paying for war damage in the Middle East if they thought it would cost so much.

During the heated closed-door debate over the Fraser proposal, Rep. Gross denounced the amendment as "an open invitation for the Arab nations and Israel to continue fighting."

"If you want to start a really big war in the Middle East, just adopt this amendment," stated Gross. "As long as the combatants know the U.S. will pick up the bill for their war damage there will be no end to the fighting."

In defending his amendment, Fraser described it as a move for peace, stating:

"I believe this will speed a settlement in the Middle East. If the nations know that the U.S. is ready to join with other industrial nations to aid in the rehabilitation of the area, there will be less antagonism and fear entering into peace negotiations."

When challenged to name other nations planning to provide money to restore the war damage, Fraser replied that U.N. Secretary-General U Thant was not trying to obtain pledges from the other big powers as part of a Middle East peace settlement.

**Although the Nixon Administration has yet to take an official position on the Fraser amendment, State Department sources say it fits into plans being drafted for a Middle East peace settlement.**

In recent talks at the U.N., Secretary of State William P. Rogers began exploring the role the U.S. could play in setting up a refugee reparations commission which would undertake many of the projects proposed by the Fraser amendment.

As exclusively reported in this column last May, U Thant is seeking big power support for an international commission to compensate Palestinians for losses of property, rentals and farm incomes caused by the Israeli-Arab wars.

Since the U.S. and Russia have such big stakes in the Middle East, U Thant has proposed that they channel money now going into arms for the area into a billion-dollar fund for the rehabilitation of the war refugees. So far, Russia has refused to consider the proposal.

**During their recent White House conference, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir appealed to President Nixon for a billion dollars in U.S. arms and economic aid.**

The money is needed, according to Mrs. Meir, for Israel's national security and to bolster that country's economy now strained by heavy defense expenditures.

White House aides say President Nixon's decision on Mrs. Meir's request will be delayed until the latest round of talks on plans for a Middle East settlement with the Soviet Union is completed.

Mrs. Meir in her conversations with President Nixon supported the proposed plan for an international refugee commission as part of an over-all peace settlement for the Middle East.

★ ★ ★

The Egyptian army has shifted its tactics in the Middle East fighting because of supply problems.

Now, instead of large-scale artillery barrages against Israeli defense positions along the Suez Canal, the Egyptians are using artillery to snipe at Israeli army convoys.

For the Egyptian transport system, the former massive shellings constituted an enormous strain. Most of the shells, obtained from the Soviet Union, come through the crowded port of Alexandria. From there they must be carried across Egypt's land mass via railroad or truck to the Suez area.

□□□

**PROGRESS IN RHODESIA**—U. N. sanctions against Rhodesia have failed miserably, a *Wall Street Journal* on-the-spot survey disclosed recently. The country is enjoying "the biggest boom in history, with a net inflow of new settlers and an economic revolution that launches dozens of new industries," the paper disclosed. The Rhodesians' gross national product is up 10 per cent in the last year—"a growth rate matched by few countries on earth."

# The Ordeal of Anthony Grey

From the Arizona *Republic*

Anthony Grey, a correspondent for Britain's Reuters News Service, arrived in Peking in March 1967. Fresh from a two-year assignment in East Berlin, he was anxious to compare Chinese communism with the brand practiced in East Europe. He never got a chance.

On July 21, 1967, the Peking police confined him to a small room in his house. No charge was filed against him. No claim was made that he had broken any law. He was told that his house arrest was retaliation for the jailing of eight Chinese Communist journalists in Hong Kong following riots in the British Crown Colony.

After the eight Chinese prisoners were released late in 1968, Peking raised the price for his release by demanding that 13 other prisoners in Hong Kong be turned loose.

*Time* magazine described the "Tiny World of Anthony Grey" in these words:

"Outside the high, grim wall that surrounds the house, hawkers shout, traffic rumbles and pedestrians chatter. Inside the wall, no one speaks to Anthony Grey, Reuters' man in Peking.

"Grey is confined to a 12-ft.-square white-washed room, whose window is partially boarded up. Through the window, he can see the wall, and he can catch only a glimpse of a tiny courtyard and—again—the wall. The door of his room stands open, so that the ever-present guard at the gate can see him at all times.

"For five months of the year the room is chilled by icy winds that blow down on Peking from Siberia. For another five months, fanless, Grey swelters under heat and humidity blown in from the Pacific. And always, the guard just stares, never speaks."

**The ordeal of Anthony Grey ended last week. Peking radio announced that "freedom of movement was restored" to the 31-year-old British journalist, "since the Hong Kong British authorities had released all the patriotic Chinese journalists."**

During his confinement the Chinese Communist authorities added new dimensions to ancient torture methods. They told him they would bring him books from his library upstairs if he could give them the exact title and author. But nervous tension had clouded his memory, and the usually made some trivial mistake. The result was restriction of his reading matter to the *Peking Review*, a Maoist propaganda magazine.

He was allowed to send one letter a month to his mother in England. But when her answers came they were often left in the courtyard, where he could see them, for days at a time.

After 17 months in solitary confinement, he was permitted a visit by two British diplomats. For the rest, Mr. Grey lived out the days in his shadow world. And in the big, bright world of freedom, apologists from communism talked about co-operation with Communist nations.

**Not only was British newsman Anthony Grey humiliated and tortured by his Red Chinese captors, but even his pet cat was hung before his eyes.**

**THINGS TOO DULL?**

For over 60 years this tool has sharpened knives, scissors, workshop, yard and garden tools. Now Rotary mowers, Electric knives. Cuts glass too! Millions sold. Discover why!! Only $1.35 — two for $2.50 Postpaid and Guaranteed.

**THOMPSON'S** 65 Pierpont Street Waterbury, Conn. 06708

Without effort, without fuss, and without corkscrew our Cork Ejector removes the most stubborn and firmly seated cork in seconds! "Corky" uses safe air pressure (two strokes on the piston does the job). There is nothing to replace and no $CO_2$ to spoil the taste of your precious Lafite Rothschild. Our catalog lists "Corky" at $4.95 (others sell him for $6). But, if you are a devil-may-care type, and used to making lightning decisions, you may have "CORKY" FOR JUST $2 (limited time only). How? Just send two $1 bills (no checks please — they drive our bankers mad) and we'll rush it to you. But that isn't all: In addition we'll send you our FABULOUS NEW CATALOG (Many call it "America's Greatest Wishbook"). And, finally, we'll send you A $2 GIFT CERTIFICATE. Impress your friends with this "Space Age" Cork Ejector. Send us your two $1 bills today . . . before we change our minds and withdraw this crazy offer!

☐Please send me "Corky", etc. forthwith. My two $1 bills are enclosed.

NAME

ADDRESS

ZIP

Dept. Corky

582 Washington, San Francisco, Ca. 94111 **haverhill's**

HE-1025




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Radical Think-Tank

# Institute for Policy Studies Aims to Disarm the U.S.

By SHIRLEY SCHEIBLA

Reprinted with permission from *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*, Oct. 6, 1969

The vicious attack, in and outside of Congress, on the so-called "military-industrial complex" has enlisted the support of an ally as powerful in and around the Nation's Capital as it is unknown to the U.S. at large, an organization called the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS).

For example, IPS is represented on the staff of the Joint Economic Committee, which, under the leadership of

**Senior IPS Fellow Arthur Waskow appeared at one of the numerous "peace demonstrations" so common to the Nation's Capital.**

Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.), has spearheaded the assault on the Pentagon's proposed budget. An economist with the committee, Richard Kaufman, is in charge of his staff work; Mr. Kaufman also happens to be an associate fellow of IPS.

IPS defines associate fellows as "part-time faculty who have led seminars, participated in social inventions, or have engaged in individual research projects supported by the Institute." It says associate fellows sometimes, but not always, receive honorariums for their work. Mr. Kaufman told *Barron's* he did not care to comment on whether he has received pay for his work for IPS.

Until 1967, when Mr. Kaufman went to work for the committee, it had left the military budget to the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees. Now the staff economist, undismayed by Sen. Proxmire's recent failure to win major Senate cutbacks on military spending, including a halt to purchases of the C5A aircraft, says he is planning a five-year campaign against military spending.

Mr. Kaufman wears his two hats with careless ease. Earlier this year, in his official capacity, he invited 27 congressional assistants to off-the-record briefings on military spending under the auspices—and at the expense—of the Institute. They lasted several hours each, included dinner, and were held once a week for several months at the Congressional Hotel.

The Institute has arranged similar conferences for other interested groups, including the National Conference on Military Priorities; IPS officials also have worked with the Council for a Livable World (which now ranks as the third-biggest spender among U.S. lobbyists), the members of Congress for Peace Through Law, and the New National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam.

**What is the Institute, and why is it so concerned with the military-industrial complex? It characterizes itself as a "think tank"; calls most of its officials "fellows," and enjoys tax exemption as an educational institution. It is supported by tax-exempt contributions from foundations, universities, colleges and individuals. And, as will be seen, it is directed by leaders of the New Left, a movement which J. Edgar Hoover, in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, recently called "clearly subversive . . . an ever-increasing danger to our national welfare and security."**

Organized six years ago, the Institute has an annual budget which currently runs to $400,000 a year. Financing has come from the Ford Foundation, Edgar Stern Family Fund, Samuel Rubin Foundation, Irving Lauck, the Institute for International Order, Milbank Foundation, "the Fontaney Corp., through the generosity of James P. Warburg," Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, National Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church, Field Foundation, Cudahy Fund, Edwin Janss Foundation, Jennifer Cafritz, Walter E. Meyer and Michael Gellert.

Support for the Institute also comes from the publishers, who, according to IPS Co-Director Marcus Raskin, have printed about two dozen books and several thousand articles by its personnel. Mr. Raskin explained to *Barron's* that IPS furnishes an office and a salary for the fellows who perform such work, and fees and royalties go directly to them. Moreover, IPS principals serve on a number of university faculties, including those at Harvard, Duke, the University of Maryland and the University of Chicago.

IPS had its genesis in the Peace Research Institute, which began operations in Washington on April 5, 1961, with an announcement that it would serve as a private agency to undertake and stimulate research in all fields relevant to peace, security, disarmament and international order. Shortly afterward it obtained a $20,000 contract for a study for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

**Signed by Arthur I. Waskow, now the senior fellow of IPS, the document called for an international police force to keep world peace and see that nations disarmed. The author also suggested that disputes in a disarmed world could "be settled by reference to the International Court of Justice, to various mediation services, to various organs of the United Nations, etc."**

A relative unknown at the time, Mr. Waskow had come to IPS from his job as legislative assistant to Rep. Robert Kastenmeier (D.-Wis.); Mr. Waskow now has become a public figure because of his active role in demonstrations, including those at the Pentagon and the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

Late in 1963, the Peace Research Institute merged with the Institute for Policy Studies, which had just been founded by Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnet, who once served as deputy directory of political research for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (*Barron's*, April 29, 1968). Mr. Waskow then went to work for IPS as its senior fellow.

**'By giving a tax exemption to an organization like the Institute for Policy Studies, our government is allowing tax exemption to support revolution.'**

**—Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.)**

In August 1965, Mr. Waskow represented IPS at a meeting in Santa Barbara, Calif., at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which produced a "Call for a New Politics," a hope for a united Left in the U.S. A year later, a National Conference for a New Politics (NCNP) was held in Chicago.

Over the Labor Day weekend in 1967, Mr. Waskow attended the first NCNP convention in Chicago; subsequently he was identified on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives as "one of the founders and leaders of the NCNP."

Mr. Raskin's Washington career began in 1960, when he served as clerk and free lance writer to several congressmen, including Representatives Kastenmeier, Herman Toll (D.-Pa.), James Roosevelt (D.-Calif.) and William S. Moorhead (D.-Pa.). Mr. Raskin soon co-authored a report with Mr. Waskow for Rep. Kastenmeier. Copyrighted in 1961, it was titled "Deterrence and Reality," and, so far as can be determined, constituted the first advocacy of U.S. unilateral disarmament on Capitol Hill. Mr. Waskow subsequently expanded the report into a book, *The Limits of Defense*.

According to a press release by Rep. Kastenmeier, Mr. Raskin also served as group secretary for the *Liberal Papers*, a collection of essays written by more than a dozen professors for a number of Democratic congressmen, made public early in 1962.

Among other things, the essays urged the U.S. to allow Russia to plug into this country's warning defense system (DEW); recognize and admit to the United Nations Communist East Germany, Red China, North Korea and North Viet Nam; unilaterally abandon nuclear tests; break up NATO; abandon Berlin and neutralize central Europe under terms proposed by Communist Poland.

**With the advent of the New Frontier, Mr. Raskin was called to the White House to join the special staff of the National Security Council as an aide to McGeorge Bundy, who now heads the Ford Foundation. Mr. Raskin also served as a member of the American delegation to the 18-nation disarmament conference at Geneva.**

Mr. Raskin subsequently became chairman of the Committee for the Formation of a New Party. On Aug. 1, 1968, the committee issued a statement by the chairman in which he said the New party "will stand for the dismantling of an obsolete, dangerous military establishment that is over-extended and over-reaching. It will insist that there be an arms control and disarmament law in the U.S. applicable to citizen and police as well. . . . It will insist the revolution in other nations or insurgencies therein should not cause interventions and suppressions by the American military."

Last January, the New party announced it had elected Dick Gregory and James P. Dixon, president of Antioch College, as co-chairmen to succeed Mr. Raskin. Mr. Dixon is an IPS trustee, and Antioch is one of the colleges associated with the Institute. Nevertheless, Mr. Raskin remains in the headlines, primarily because of his indictment (and subsequent acquittal) on a charge of conspiring to advise draft evasion, along with Dr. Benjamin Spock and the Rev. William Sloan Coffin Jr.

Since its inception the Institute has fought military defense through "seminars," chiefly for members of Congress and their assistants. In 1967-68 (it operates on a school year), IPS held a series of conferences for congressional assistants on "the Impact of the War on American Society." Besides Co-Director Barnet, one of the speakers was Michael Tigar, whose subject was "The War and the Draft."

Mr. Tigar is well known as a student leader of the 1964 disturbances at the University of California at Berkeley. He is a former member of the executive board of the National Capital Area

**Marcus Raskin, who has been acquitted of counselling draft evasion, remains active in the ultra-liberal movement.**

Civil Liberties Union and served as attorney for members of the Students for a Democratic Society charged with seizing and occupying George Washington University's Sino-Soviet Institute in April. Last month he was jailed in Chicago on a charge of contempt of court in connection with his defense of "the Chicago 8," charged with conspiring to incite a riot during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. (The charge against Mr. Tigar has been dropped.)

IPS' 1968-69 schedule for "seminars" describes the aforementioned Mr. Kaufman's assignment as "a work study project to analyze the war machine as a public-private corporate structure. Topics covered will include cost, benefits, public relations and distribution of profits." The project assignment for Mr. Kaufman in the IPS 1969-70 budget is "Defense Procurement."

Sen. Proxmire told *Barron's* he had heard that Mr. Kaufman is associated with the Institute, but that he is not



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

familiar with it. However, Proxmire's committee has published two essays by Milton Kotler, who the committee itself has identified as a "Resident Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C." Sen. Proxmire said further that he considers what Mr. Kaufman does with his time after working hours is his own business.

IPS principals seem to be very busy men. Co-Director Barnet and Trustee Hans Morgenthau, professor of history, government and international relations at the University of Chicago, are advisers to the Council for a Livable World. IPS Fellows Waskow and Leonard Rodberg, former bureau chief with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, have done work for it.

A Senate report has described the Council's goals as unilateral disarmament and "turning this country into a fourth-rate power at the mercy of the international wolfpack."

**The Council is the third highest spender of the lobbying organizations which filed reports for 1968. With outlays of $154,022 (up from $77,470 for 1967), it topped even such famous lobbying groups as the American Legion and the American Medical Association, and was outranked only by the United Federation of Postal Clerks (AFL-CIO) and the AFL-CIO.**

According to the same Senate document, the Council takes credit for assuring the original election victory of one of the Senate's leading peaceniks, George McGovern (D.-S.D.), by having its membership put $22,000 into his campaign, enough to win a close contest in a sparsely populated state.

Sen. McGovern, in turn, is vice-chairman of a group called Members of Congress for Peace Through Law. Its chairman is Rep. Bradford Morse (R.-Mass.), and its members include Representatives Rosenthal and Kastenmeier (Mr. Waskow's former employer), all three of whom have attended "seminars" at IPS headquarters.

Last July that group issued a report, labeled "personal and confidential," which said that the recommendations of the Joint Economic Committee can serve as guidelines for positive reform in military procurement.

Among other things, the report called for moratoria on the construction of aircraft carriers, F-14A planes, advanced manned bombers and chemical and biological warfare centers. It also urged drastic curtailment in Sentinel-Safeguard deployment and the ABM research and development program.

Writing in *New University Thought* last year, Mr. Waskow declared that the Institute is committed to the view that to develop social theory, one must be involved in social action and experiment. Toward this end, he advocated "creative disorder," which, he said, means "to simply keep experimenting and to discover at what point one is neither smashed nor ignored, but creates enough change to move the society." Admitting a "gut preference for disorder," Mr. Waskow said IPS "stands on the bare edge of custom in the United States as to what an education research institution is."

In short, it not only develops and promulgates theories but also seeks to implement them. Aside from its failure so far in unilaterally disarming the U.S., IPS has enjoyed considerable success, even to the extent of Mr. Waskow being asked to give his expert advice on police problems in a project partially funded by the Justice Department.

The Institute actually has set up communes and neighborhood corporations with the ultimate aim of taking over important functions of muncipal government, including the control of police, schools, housing for the poor and health services.

According to at least one IPS book, "Neighborhood Government," the message of the riots is that the poor want such community control, and civil war will result unless they get it. Nothing less will suffice, it maintains. The ultimate aim is to establish such control through a network of federally funded ghetto corporations.

**At least two IPS associate fellows hold government posts in which they are able to apply such theories. Other fellows, once having held such posts, apparently continue to influence the executive and legislative branches of government.**

Anyone studying IPS and the turmoil plaguing the nation might be tempted to conclude that the Institute had written the scenario.

According to the Washington *Post*, Mr. Waskow helped plan the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The subsequent need to call out the police to enable an institution of government to operate, and the resulting cries of police brutality, ran true to IPS theory espoused by Mr. Waskow and other exponents of the New Left affiliated with the Institute. Back in 1965, Mr. Wasrow wrote in the *Saturday Review* that as revolutionists force tyranny to stop them, they will gain increasing acceptance.

According to the *Daily World*, Mr. Waskow also masterminded the counter-inauguration of a pig for President at the time of President Nixon's inauguration.

The Institute goes far beyond demonstrations in exercising influence. Its theory of community control through the device of neighborhood corporations has been set forth repeatedly by fellow Milton Kotler. A couple of years ago, the Urban Affairs subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress published two of his essays on the subject as part of a compendium by 22 urban specialists.

A footnote identified Mr. Kotler as an IPS resident fellow. His opening sentences read: "At the outset, let me say that this paper is not a study. It is an argument . . . intending to persuade you toward a course in urban legislation. . . ." (Nevertheless, IPS has not registered as a lobbyist, and enjoys tax exemption as an educational institution.)

"Riots," wrote Mr. Kotler, "reflect the formation of a new local community power in combat with the established power. . . . Unless existing established federal, state and municipal governments transfer a proper portion of their authority in Negro communities, today's domestic warfare will grow."

(At about the time the essays were published, black employes of the Library of Congress began receiving cards. One side was headed, "Committee for Emergency Support," and bore the address of the Institute. It read:

"We are in sympathy with the despair of the black people in America. We share their sense of powerlessness to relieve repressive conditions by conventional political means. We are frustrated in our attempts to control the decisions which affect our lives in the capital city.

"We are all victims. We are ready in an emergency to assist the black community of Washington with food, housing, medical care and legal aid. We are committed to act to remove repressive military and political intervention."

**The other side of the card advised calling the IPS phone number "in a riot or rebellion to obtain information, for legal assistance, for medical aid, for food and housing, to report police brutality." Shortly thereafter, Mr. Waskow began calling for the collection of bail funds in advance of violence.)**

In his essays for the committee, Mr. Kotler suggested a transfer of authority through "creative federalism." He explained, "The federal government must first assist the organization of legal neighborhood corporations with some initial funding. . . . Funding from the government is more important for legitimizing the development of neighborhood self-government as a unit of local rule in the society than for the money itself. . . . This proposal is already before the Senate in the form of Senate bill 1433. . . . It deserves your consideration and support."

S 1433 expired in 1967. But on July 11, 1968, Roy Innis, acting national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Representatives Charles E. Goodell (R.-N.Y., now a senator), William B. Widnall (R.-N.J.) and Robert Taft Jr. (R.-Ohio) jointly introduced legislation to create community development corporations "to finance, acquire, own and manage productive business enterprise located in the community, and to use the profit from such enterprise to finance its own education and social service programs in the community."

**Last week's Vietnam Moratorium was an indirect result of many of the policies advocated by such groups as the Institute for Policy Studies.**

Financing for the corporations, they explained, would come from community development banks (CDBs) "analogous to Federal Land Bank Associations and Production Credit Associations, under the supervision of the comptroller of the currency." They estimated that federal capitalization of the CDBs initially would involve annual federal spending of $1 billion.

Last December the measure was discussed at a "self-determination symposium" at the Washington Hilton Hotel. According to the New York *Times*, Sen. Charles H. Percy (R.-Ill.) told the gathering, which included black militants, that "Mr. Nixon had expressed approval of the concepts in the bill and that Nixon aides had informed him that the President-elect 'strongly supports the bi-partisan concept.'"

**The bill, of course, expired with the 90th Congress. Sen. Goodell, however, now is revising a similar one he introduced this year which is pending before the Senate Finance Committee.**

The impetus for all this began four years ago, according to an IPS booklet called "The First Three Years," when "after long discussions with Kotler, a number of residents and organizational leaders in a poor neighborhood decided to organize the East Columbus Citizens Organization (ECCO)." To date, the Office of Economic Opportunity has approved grants of $432,219 for ECCO and expects funding eventually to total $757,113. The agency calls it a demonstration of community self-government through a corporation.

OEO also has announced what it calls its "Community Capitalism Program"; under it, the agency plans to make grants of $10 million this year to community corporations. (Mr. Kotler says there now are 70 of them.) Grants already made public include $1 million to the Inner-City Business Improvement Forum (Detroit), $900,000 to the Human Development Corp. (St. Louis), $1.1 million to the North Lawndale Economic Development Corp. (Chicago), $600,000 to the Harlem Commonwealth Council (New York) and $1.5 million to the Hough Area Development Corp. (Cleveland).

All this ties in too with the Model Cities program; by happenstance, Stanley L. Newman, an IPS associate fellow, is chief of the Planning and Relocation and Public Administration Branch of the Division of Program Development and Evaluation in the office of the assistant secretary of housing and urban development for Model Cities and Governmental Relations.

Now Mr. Kotler is elaborating on his theory. In a book titled *Neighborhood Government*, just published by Bobbs-Merrill Co., he demands regulatory power for the community corporations to assure that money earned in the community will stay there.

He also writes: "It is necessary for the corporation both to have the power to tax its residents and to be able to dispose of its territory. This means the governmental power of eminent domain." He says it also would be reasonable for the corporation "to control prices, rents, licensing and banking." Further, he would like communities to govern themselves based on custom rather than outside laws.

**Calling the community "the action unit of this emerging revolutionary class," Mr. Kotler says, "The neighborhood organization . . . must be prepared to defend gains in jurisdiction by the threat of war to any who would endeavor to deny these gains."**

Meanwhile, Mr. Waskow has pursued the IPS idea of community control of schools. Some years ago he became secretary of a community anti-poverty group here in Washington, the Adams-Morgan Community Council, just as federal policy-makers insisted that the D.C. Board of Education allow the Council to run the Morgan grammar school as an experiment in community control.

Shortly thereafter, John R. Immer, president of the Federation of Citizens Association of the District of Columbia, wrote President Johnson that the children at the school were being cheated out of a good education. He declared: "The teachers maintain no discipline, are hippies, use vile language, have had little or no teaching experience and have and are using untried teaching methods."

Nevertheless, President Johnson's Cabinet officers and their wives worked with Mr. Waskow in the presentation of the movie, *Camelot*, at the Warner Theater in Washington, as a benefit for the Morgan school.

Among the patrons listed by Mr. Waskow were (then) Justice and Mrs. Abe Fortas (IPS lists his former law partner, Thurman Arnold, as one of its original trustees), Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of Com-

Continued on page 14



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## REPRINTS AND BOOKS FROM HUMAN EVENTS

### *ARTICLE REPRINTS*
**(Folded to fit #10 Envelope)**

ITEM 1 **"The Case for the Subversive Activities Control Board"** by Francis J. McNamara. Prices: 35¢ each; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

ITEM 2 **"Are Soviets Planning Nuclear First Strike?"** by Phyllis Schlafly and Admiral Chester Ward. Prices: 35¢ each; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

ITEM 3 **"The Alchemists in Our Public Schools"** by Dr. Roger A. Freeman. Prices: 35¢ each; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

ITEM 4 **"Harvard's Tragedy: Too Arrogant . . . Then Too Cowardly"** by Al Capp. Prices: 30¢ each; 10 for $2.50; 50 for $10; 100 for $15.

ITEM 5 **"Five Myths That Beset Us"** by Senator Henry M. Jackson. Prices: 35¢ each; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

### *BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS*

ITEM 6 **The Political Assassination of Robert A. Taft** by Gerald Schomp, 244 pages, $2.95.

ITEM 7 **The Faith We Have Not Kept** by Senator Strom Thurmond, 192 pages, $1.

ITEM 8 **Workers' Paradise Lost** by Eugene Lyons, 416 pages, 95¢.

ITEM 9 **The War for the World** by General Thomas Lane, 252 pages, $1.

ITEM 10 **The Crime Game** by John D'Alfonso, 269 pages, $1.

ITEM 11 **Safe, Not Sorry** by Phyllis Schlafly, 189 pages, $1.

ITEM 12 **Road to Revolution** by Phillip Abbott Luce, 174 pages, $1.

ITEM 13 **Hubert** by Allan H. Ryskind, 355 pages (hardcover), $5.95.

ITEM 14 **The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution,** Booklet, 54 pages, 45¢.

ITEM 15 **HUMAN EVENTS' 25TH Anniversary Edition,** bound in blue leatherette, 64 pages, $5.

ITEM 16 (Also available: unbound editions at $1 each; 5 for $4.25; 25 for $21.25; 50 for $42.50; 100 for $70).

ITEM 17 **HUMAN EVENTS BOUND VOLUMES,** elegantly bound in blue Fabrakoid with gold-embossed lettering. Indexed by topic and author. 1968 (in 1 volume); 1967 (in 1 volume); 1966 (in 1 volume); 1962 (in 2 volumes); 1961 (in 2 volumes). Price: $20 each.

**Human Events • 422 First Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003**

Please send me the following items postpaid. My check for $ _____ is enclosed.

Quantity _____ Item No. _____ Price _____
Quantity _____ Item No. _____ Price _____
Quantity _____ Item No. _____ Price _____

NAME _____
(Please Print)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____


# How Big Labor Plans to Unionize the Banks

By VICTOR RIESEL

With a little imagination and $35 billion as power money—or money power—one can start a gold rush. At least, this is how one of the "now generation" unionists leading a "now generation" union reckons it.

The $35 billion is only seed money in this story. But it will do for a starter with Howard Coughlin, president of the white collar Office and Professional Employes Union (AFL-CIO). Mr. Coughlin plans to campaign for the unionization of thousands of the nation's banks. This is no mean goal. At the end of the picket line, in the U.S. and Canada, there could be one million new members.

Mr. Coughlin's strategy is simple. He drew it from an old cigar maker, Samuel Gompers (whom he quotes in his literature), who hated Socialist theory and loved pragmatic politics—so much so he became the AFL's first national president.

The late Mr. Gompers believed in punishing labor's enemies and rewarding its friends.

That's what Howard Coughlin wants—punishment of those banks which fight unionization and rewarding those financial houses which cooperate.

**Mr. Coughlin and his colleagues in the executive suite of the 80,000-member union believe that labor can swing as much as $35 billion in and out of Canadian and U.S. banks. He's right. They can. Probably they control or influence billions more.**

There is at least $35 billion in the pension funds directly or jointly administered by unions. This does not include the pools of cash paid out annually for "welfare"—which in labor parlance means fringe benefits ranging from maternity coverage to free psychiatric treatment. It's estimated that the welfare flow alone comes to $14 billion annually.

The public generally is not aware of the enormity of this money flow. But the Office and Professional Employes Union certainly is. Its members have already unionized the New York Stock Exchange, the "Amex" and the produce exchanges here in New York City. So they know the money market. They know where the big funds are held.

So they are urging all national and international unions (meaning those which stretch across the border into Canada) to help—also all union members, and state, county and local city bodies.

Mr. Coughlin and his colleagues have just returned from weeks of lobbying among the giants—at the AFL-CIO convention. There the union's officials convinced some of the biggest AFL-CIO departments, with a total membership of some 10 million, to pass a swinging resolution.

**They openly called for unions and unionists to "transfer out" of banks which don't want to be organized.**

The resolution fell just short of becoming national AFL-CIO policy because it appeared to be pushing friendly banks by name. There are six such unionized banks in the U.S. and Canada—one of which is owned by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The national convention's resolution committee favored Mr. Coughlin's dramatic proposals, but believed the white collar office union literateurs should eliminate the specifically named friendly banks. This will be done and the tidied-up resolution will be submitted to the next meeting of the expanded 35-member AFL-CIO Executive Council in November. There, it will undoubtedly be passed.

What's significant here is the use of vast sums of money in place of mass picket lines. This money power in the hands of a union of young people can be awesome—if the movement swings Coughlin's way.

Inside financial circles this past decade, labor has been recognized as a big money market—more enticing now that money for rent comes high and union pension, welfare, trust and dues money flows in inexorably.

**When labor's high command gathers, one of the best social evenings in Bal Harbour, Fla., is the First National City Bank party. Not far behind, but in smaller gatherings, is the Chase Manhattan Bank.**

And from the Chemical Bank monthly newsletter comes the following:

"There are over 18 million members . . .nearly all of whom are covered by some sort of pension plan and health and welfare plan. Because this is a time of prosperity and full employment, the funds are expanding, providing a major source of business for those banks [six] who act as trustees for the funds or whose branches hold deposit accounts for labor organizations."

So the bank created a special account executive to woo labor money.

Now, says Howard Coughlin, whose union has members in offices all the way from highly guarded nuclear research installations to Las Vegas casinos, the time has come for the banks to go union. . .or else.

Just how effective he can make the "or else" be depends on how well labor's giants remember that old cigar maker's ancient generation's adage of rewarding friends, punishing enemies. Banks don't frighten easily. Now we'll see how effective the "now unionism" can be.

(Copyright 1969, Publishers-Hall Syndicate Inc.)


DEFEND YOURSELF!

**INSTANTLY STOPS ATTACKER**

Assailants run screaming when sprayed in face with BODYGUARD. When you're in danger, simply press tip. Spray causes temporary blindness, coughing and sneezing and leaves red stain for identification. Effective up to 15 feet. Fires up to 25 times without reloading. Contains same ingredient used by U.S. mailmen to render vicious dogs helpless instantly. Easily concealed in hand—legal to carry—no license required. 100% as effective as tear gas. Used by cabbies, watchmen, waitresses, policemen, stores, nurses, nightworkers, gas stations, etc. Carry in purse or pocket. BODYGUARD only $2 postpaid (3 for $5 or 7 for $10 postpaid). For fast Airmail delivery add 25¢ for each BODYGUARD. Satisfaction guaranteed.

**JOHN HANCOCK CO., DEPT.** A-100
2427 CUSSETA ROAD COLUMBUS, GEORGIA 31903

**JOHN HANCOCK CO., DEPT.** A-100
2427 CUSSETA ROAD, COLUMBUS, GEORGIA 31903

Enclosed is $_____ (check, cash or m.o.)

Rush me _____ BODYGUARD Self-Defenders.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

**Use coupon or your own stationery to order.**


# Karl Marx: Theorist or Activist?

By RUSSELL KIRK

America's doctrinaire little knots of radical students—more noisy than numerous, though sufficiently publicized—generally profess affection for the teachings of Karl Marx, even though those student organizations are divided in allegiance between Havana and Peking. How much, however, do they know of the real Karl Marx?

They might do well to read a careful and learned book recently published, Dr. Oscar Hammen's *The Red '48ers: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels* (Scribners). Actually, that humorless but passionate dialectician called Karl Marx was little like the abstract philosopher praised by the "intellectual Marxists" since World War II. Nor did he much resemble the image of the "Young Marx" recently created by New Left people.

"Such an idealized Marx," Prof. Hammen writes, "introduced as the complete flesh-and-blood Marx, has attracted some followers among the idealistic youth of college age. In becoming a Marxist of a sort, often in the most unsystematic way, that youth escapes the isolation that accompanies a protest without a name. He gains a certain identity and status through a self-identification with a great name, a recognized philosophy, and the company of others with the same idealistic urge. If Marx had not existed, perhaps he would have had to be invented to satisfy such a demand."

**Yet if we look at Marx and Engels during the European revolutions of 1848-49—the months in which those two expected that Communists would achieve power in many states, but were hideously disappointed—we encounter not sages and systematizers, but what we now call "militants" or "activists."**

Curiously enough, Dr. Hammen's book is the first study in English of the real Marx and the real Engels at the crisis of their fate in 1848, when they were tested by a tide in the affairs of men.

Perhaps Prof. Hammen's most interesting contribution to the study of these founders of the Communist movement is his demonstration that Marx and Engels altered their arguments and their very principles, sometimes in order to achieve greater tactical success in the practical struggles of those days. *The Communist Manifesto* and *The German Ideology* (written at that time, the latter book, but not published until 1932) were not the products of scientific and logical abstract thought, but primarily, instead, of a desire to achieve power through revolution.

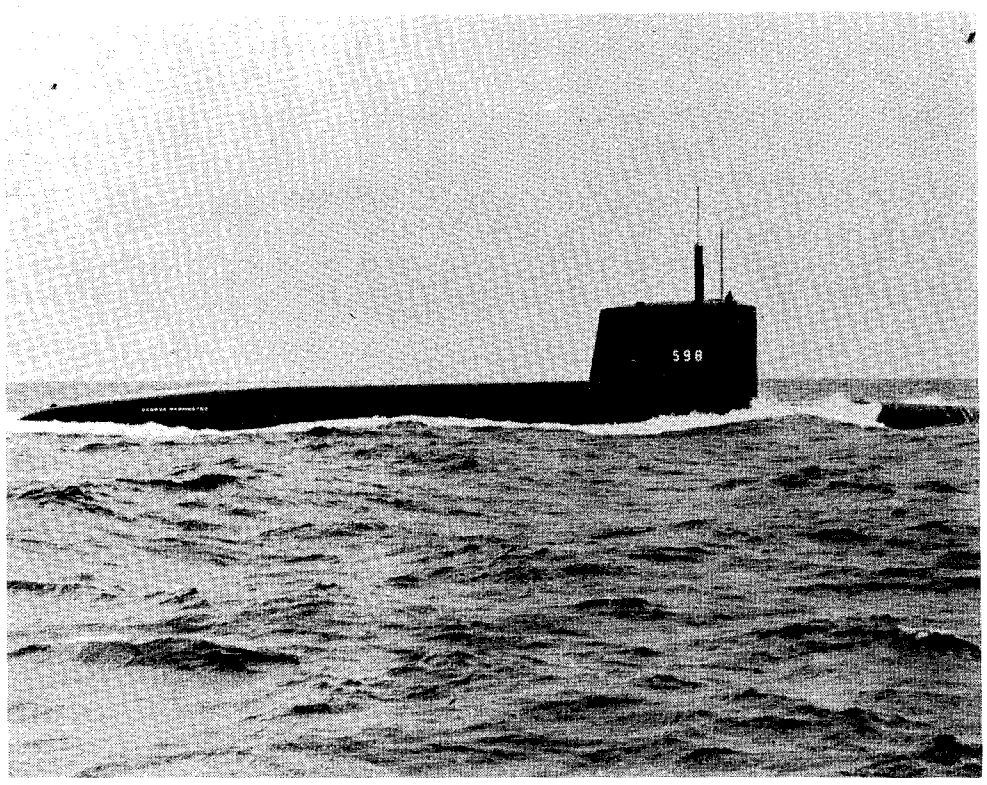
For all other systems of social thought, Marx and Engels expressed bitter contempt, denouncing others' theories as "ideology"—that is, a kind of intellectual false-front to advance the interests of a particular class, a hypocritical apology for special interests. But Marx's and Engels' own writings were altogether ideological, despite their pretense of being "scientific" and "practical." In their earlier works, and to a large extent in *Das Kapital,* these partners fitted their theories to the revolutionary expediency of the time.

Nevertheless, their writings have endured, to do mighty mischief; while their aspirations to achieve power through violence were totally frustrated. The New Left, one may remark, will collapse ludicrously if it emulates the revolutionary tactics of these two grim radicals. The "revolution" of Feb. 28, 1848, in Brussels, was smashed within a few hours, with little bloodshed. (Marx was in Brussels, but kept out of sight.) On September 27, Marx's "revolution" in Cologne did not last one night. What a mentor for militants, Marx!

(Copyright 1969, General Features Corp.)



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Defense Secretary Laird has taken a chin-up attitude towards such potential gaps in U.S. technology such as nuclear submarines. But, says columnist Alexander, there's more to it than that.

# Gambling With U.S. Defenses

## *Why Laird feels we're skating on thin ice*

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird's last three public statements can be paraphrased in the vernacular—we are skating on thin ice.

He has said that in cutting back on weapons in order to spend on welfare, Congress is taking the chance that we won't need the weapons.

He has said that in withdrawing troops and in reducing draft calls, we are hoping the Communists will give us a break in Viet Nam.

He has said, and very specifically at the launching of the new attack submarine, the *USS Trepang*, at Groton, Conn., that we are conceding the Soviets a nearly 3-to-1 superiority in the number of submarines, but are counting on the quality of our boats and the dedication of our boys to make up the difference.

These capsules of the secretary's informed opinion ought to be separately pondered, for they contain warnings that a self-governing people should not brush off.

**We too often assume that the Pentagon's demand for weaponry is insatiable, and that the demands for housing and health, education and nutrition, racial equalization and anti-pollution, are finite. The exact opposite is true.**

The Defense Department knows with fair mathematical certainty what arms are needed to provide a margin of safety against the total world Communist threat. Given the required amount of nuclear megatonnage, chemical-bacteriologicals, explosives, manpower and the vehicles to move them all, our military planners could reasonably insure against every kind of enemy attack, except the "insane" kind, and even this could be taken care of by a preemptive strike. Expensive as it is, we could make ourselves an invulnerable world power, or at least reduce our vulnerability to negligible risks.

But there is no way on earth that a government can come close to the goals of domestic reformers. No amount of money will purchase and maintain housing that somebody won't gripe about, medical care that will satisfy the unhealthy, schools and food and civil rights and air-water purity which can be pronounced in no need of improvement.

We can have a sufficiency of guns, but never of butter, and yet that isn't the real choice. The flower which we are called upon to pluck from the nettle is freedom, both physical and political. The concern is that, without adequate military preparation, we could be incinerated, invaded, subjugated by enemies which are plotting just such a finish for this nation.

As to the idea that the Communists will desist in Viet Nam, it escapes being ridiculous only if we make it intolerable and unprofitable for them to continue. When the enemy has had enough war for a while, we can have peace for a while. Perhaps that has happened already in Viet Nam, thanks to bullets, iron bombs and napalm, and this is the only fact that will justify troop withdrawal and draft suspension.

**Finally, there is Mr. Laird's make-the-best-of-it hope expressed at Groton that one submarine of ours is worth three of the Russians, and that American boys are better motivated than theirs. The secretary was voicing an article of faith in American superiority that used to be provable and justifiably a matter of pride. Whether this is any longer the case would be a matter of subjective opinion.**

Most of us have written or read too much to bear repeating about the growing unwillingness of academic scientists to engage in the refining of more and deadlier weapons, and about the too-frequent examples of sloppy workmanship by American labor and management, and about the alienization of the generation whom we count upon to fight our wars.

And most of us, it clearly appears, are temperamentally unaccustomed to believing in American vulnerability. We do not accept our mortality as a nation. We refuse to translate such statements as Mr. Laird's into their skull-and-bones reality.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)


This Delightfully Clever, Simple

**POSTAGE SCALE from DENMARK**

**COSTS ONLY $1.00**

and will save you that dollar many times over!

- **It's a *POCKET SIZE POSTAL SCALE* which tells you instantly, with extreme accuracy, exactly how much postage is needed! No more putting on that extra stamp just because you "want to be sure"!**
- **Tests have actually proven it more accurate than Post Office scales!**
- **It's also a *LETTER OPENER* and *SEVEN INCH RULER!***
- **Every *home* and *office desk*, every *briefcase*, every *pocketbook* needs one!**
- **Makes a perfectly marvelous personal or business gift! You don't have to worry that they may already have one, because they are always glad to receive another! (We get many orders for a dozen or more at a time. Some people must send them to everybody on their gift lists!)**
- **Imported from Denmark. Handsomely molded. Will last "forever." No springs — never needs adjustment! Satisfaction guaranteed or full refund, including postage.**
- **Not sold in stores. Please use this coupon to order.**

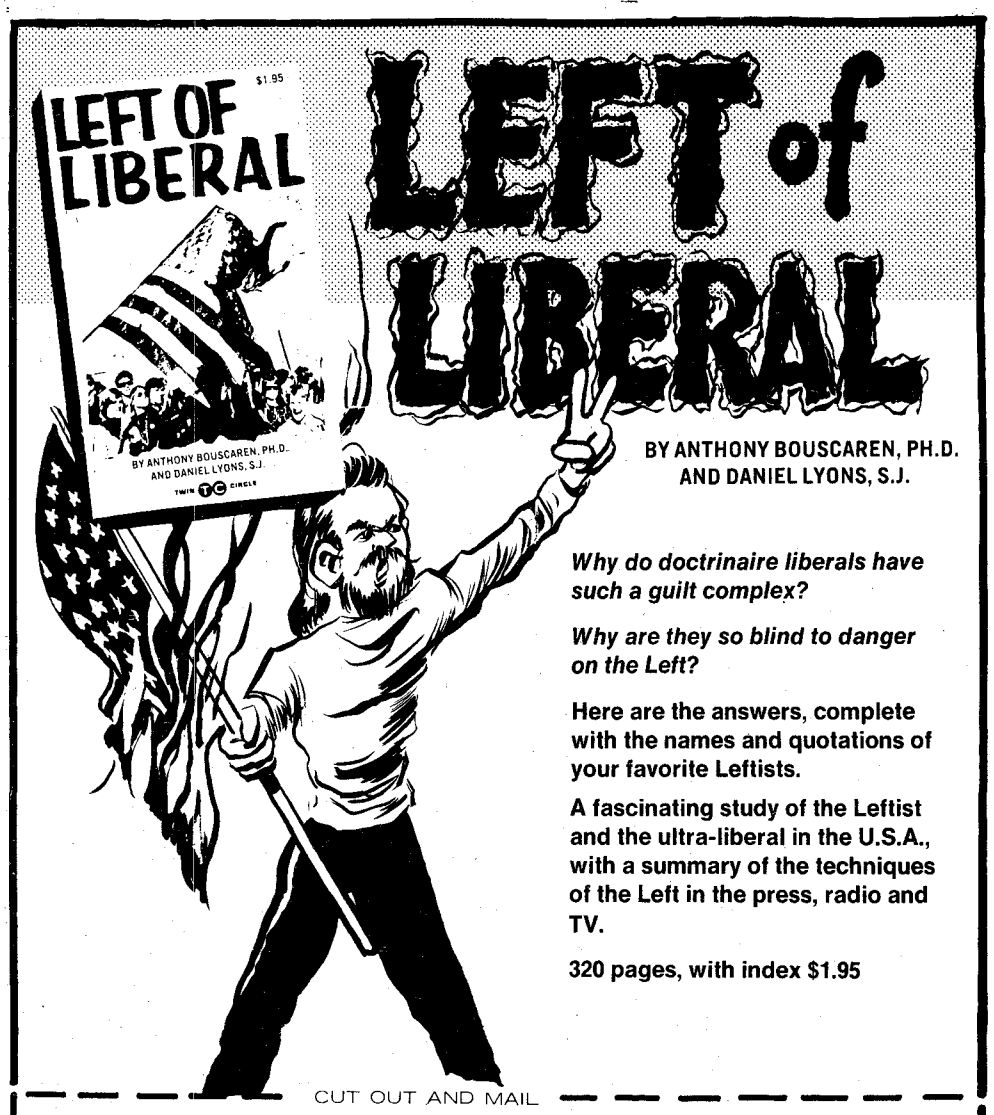
*GEAR FOR GOOD LIVING*
*90 Heights Road, Darien, Conn. 06820*

Gear For Good Living, Dept. 9060
90 Heights Road, Darien, Conn. 06820

Please send DANISH POSTAL SCALES by return mail postpaid, as follows: ☐ 1 for 1.00. ☐ 3 for $2.80 ☐ 6 for $5.40. ☐ 12 for $10.00. Enclosed is cash ☐ check ☐ or money order ☐.

Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State ..... Zip .....






*Why do doctrinaire liberals have such a guilt complex?*

*Why are they so blind to danger on the Left?*

**Here are the answers, complete with the names and quotations of your favorite Leftists.**

**A fascinating study of the Leftist and the ultra-liberal in the U.S.A., with a summary of the techniques of the Left in the press, radio and TV.**

**320 pages, with index $1.95**

CUT OUT AND MAIL

TWIN CIRCLE PUBLISHING COMPANY
86 Riverside Drive • New York, N.Y. 10024

Please send _____ copies of LEFT OF LIBERAL @ $1.95 per copy.

Payment of $ _____ is enclosed (send check or money order).

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____





PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Does Nixon Believe the 'Great Western Myth'?

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Some day soon, if President Nixon has his way, American and Soviet leaders will sit down together, presumably at a spot chosen by the Russians, to discuss mutual disarmament, meaning a limitation or reduction of their own nuclear weapons and joint action in enforcing nuclear abstention upon all countries that are today without nuclear weapons.

An agreement will be reached, we are told, because "Moscow is as interested as Washington in peace through law and in saving billions to devote to industrial development."

Should this come to pass, most but not all other countries will swallow their resentment of a world dyarchy and express their hope that agreement is really a step to lasting peace.

The catch is, unless the United States is ready to accept nuclear parity without inspection with a country only half as productive as itself, in whose leaders' eyes, *all agreements* are temporary eyewash, nothing will come of the disarmament negotiations.

Even liberal Ambassador Charles Bohlen appeared to realize the futility of placing too much trust in the Soviets.

**Why then is Washington so eager? The only answer is that the present Administration, like its three predecessors, is the victim of what U.S. Ambassador "Chip" Bohlen called the second most stupid belief any American leader can hold; namely, "I know how to get on with the Russians."**

Faith in an acceptable armament understanding is one of the many illusions engendered by what one may call the Great Western Myth concerning the nature and intentions of totalitarian communism.

• Foremost among these, as I mentioned above, is the quaint notion that communism's chief aim is the creation of a better society. This is true only in theory. The chief aim of Red Russia as well as of Red China consists in spreading totalitarian collectivism throughout the world at whatever "temporary" cost to their unhappy subjects.

In this effort anything goes—expenditure of almost unlimited sums on armament; systematic instigation of "little wars of liberation" in countries not yet Communist; the investment of more billions in mendacious propaganda concerning the possibility of "peaceful co-existence"; and in the case of Russia, at least, the violent application of the Brezhnev doctrine of armed intervention to enforce ideological conformity—as on Czechoslovakia.

• A second democratic illusion spawned by the Great Myth is that in their attitude toward Western democracies, the various Communist governments and parties are at odds among themselves. An example: the USSR and Rumania are disposed to be friendly to the West while Red China plans aggression: hence the United States should cultivate Moscow. Yet only last spring the 75-party Communist convention in Moscow revealed unanimous hostility toward Western democracies, beginning with the United States.

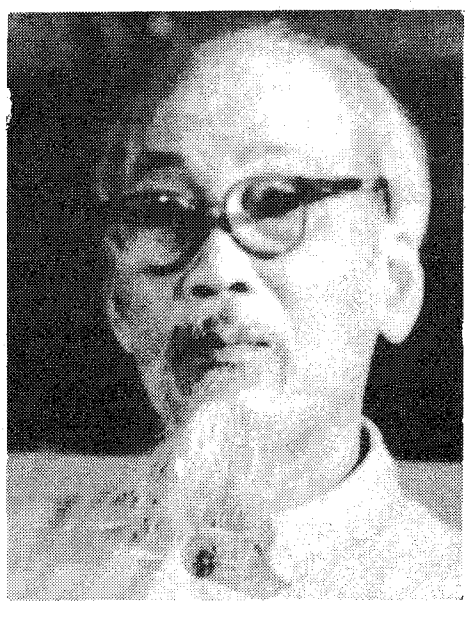
• A third sister illusion: Because of its rivalry with Red China, the Soviet Union will help us realize the Nixon-Kissinger policy of a compromise in Viet Nam that excludes victory by the Viet Cong. (By victory, I mean any outcome that permits first a "popular front government" in the south, and eventually, a take-over by the Communist north.)

In point of fact, Moscow has furnished Hanoi with most of its instruments of aggression and has deliberately prolonged the war by convincing successive American Presidents of the danger of winning by such obvious means as blockading Haiphong, cutting the Ho Chi Minh Trail through divided Laos and "neutral" Cambodia, and refraining from invading North Viet Nam and ousting its Communist government. In fact, history is likely to consider our "unwritten agreements" with Moscow as damaging to freedom as Chamberlain's and Daladier's acceptance of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in 1938.

As a people we, including our recent Presidents, seem to have forgotten that Truman's failure to reunite Korea in 1951, if necessary by destroying Red China, sparked the division of Viet Nam and Laos and our subsequent sacrifice of thousands of our finest—with no acceptable end in sight. All because we have refused to see the Communist regimes as they are and not as we wish them to be.

• A fourth of the Great Myth's offspring was the widespread notion of Ho Chi Minh as basically more of a devoted and, in some ways, admirable patriot than as the murderous little Stalin that he was.

For reasons that escape me, Americans, beginning in the White House, have forgotten our folly, during World War II, in raising the one-time paid Soviet agent in China, to our chief anti-Japanese propagandist in his native Indochina. And that by making the most of this opportunity, he successfully fomented the post-war rebellion against France during which he systematically murdered all non-Communist nationalists and, in the early '60s, deliberately embarked upon the Red take-over of South Viet Nam, a war which he could win only if Washington remained faithful to the Great Myth concerning communism.



The late Ho Chi Minh was regarded by many as a well-meaning patriot rather than the murderer he really was.

The war in Viet Nam has already caused 39,000 U.S. combat deaths. But just last week the Soviet Union announced it was continuing its military aid to the Hanoi regime.

As a result, millions of democrats throughout the world failed to consider Ho as much their enemy as Stalin or Mao. In fact, Mrs. Frank Loseby, a British widow living in Hong Kong, publicly boasted how her late husband had, in the early '30s, saved Ho from execution by the French in Indochina! Many Americans share her innocence.

**Obviously, therefore, the Nixon-Kissinger attempt to end the war in Viet Nam by unilaterally withdrawing American troops and continuing President Johnson's sadly humorous "negotiations" in Paris can succeed only if the United States is prepared to betray not only South Viet Nam but, presumably, Thailand, Burma and the Philippines as well.**

• Two other minor children of the Great Myth are Australia's eagerness to reach closer contact with the Soviet Union and Canada's belief that as a member of the United Nations, Red China will contribute anything but the further debauching of Western youth, thanks to its increasingly smuggled opium upon whose sale it relies for most of its foreign exchange and gold reserves.

• Still other illusions engendered by the Myth are the widely held view that in a neutral state, a nominally democratic but Communist-leaning regime is preferable to a feudal or military autocracy, and the liberals' faith that truly democratic governments are possible in "underdeveloped" countries. They forget that it took our European ancestors several centuries to transform the limited democracy of the Italian communes and the Swiss town meeting into truly representative regimes.

• Yet perhaps the most dangerous child of the Great Myth is the persistent notion that the United States and world peace can be better preserved by our nuclear parity with the Communists than by nuclear preponderance. This implies a reversion to the sort of balance of power that twice in this century has toppled into major war. Nonetheless, faith in the so-called "nuclear stalemate" persists in the minds of those who fail to put survival first.

How then should we interpret the apparent shift in the mind of Richard Nixon? In 1964 he published a magazine article in which he wrote:

"There is no doubt that if the danger of war has decreased, the danger of defeat without war has been substantially increased."

"Nothing should be done for any of the Communist governments unless its effect will be to help the people get relief from oppressions."

"The Communist goal is to impose slavery on the free world. U.S. policy must be nothing less than to bring freedom to the Communist world. U.S. policy must be guided by one overriding principle: America stands for freedom—not only for itself but for all people."

This is a thoroughly realistic appraisal of the world situation as it was and is.

Two years later, in 1966, the former vice president endorsed a congressional resolution whose goal was to "transform the present [NATO] alliance into a federal union," because he felt that only such a partnership could ensure the members permanent political, financial, economic, scientific and military superiority over any other combination of powers.

Yet in 1969, at a press conference following his world trip, our President stated:

"The world will be a much safer place and, from our standpoint, a much healthier place economically, militarily and politically if there is a strong European community to *be a balance between the United States and the Soviet Union, rather than to have this polarization of forces in one part of the world or another*" (emphasis added). In short, a balance of power!

**What has caused such a reversal of judgment? Could it be Nixon's choice of glib but near-sighted advisers on foreign affairs? Or must every American chief executive fall victim to wishful thinking?**

The horrid fact is, the organization of Western Europe as a "third force" could be another step towards an obligatory American choice between a catastrophic and losing war and ignominious surrender to the Reds. For this is the obvious goal of Moscow as well as of Peking.

To avoid it, the Great Myth must go.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Grape Boycott Comes to Michigan

## *But not without some embarrassments for its supporters*

By HENRY P. ZUIDEMA

The trouble with strawberries, cherries, grapes and pickles is that you can't get them to come off the production line the year 'round and on the day and hour needed by throwing a switch. Mother Nature still calls the signals just as surely as crankcases don't grow on vines.

This is a truism that may not be recognized by the Michigan Council of the AFL-CIO as it plunges into the migrant worker and "grape boycott" issues. Or, if wily Gus Scholle, a big wheel in labor as president of the council, does recognize it, he could see the migrant labor controversy as a handy diversion from the problems besetting the unions in their own strongholds—the industrial centers.

There is, for example, the agitation among black workers in the auto industry against what they term white union supremacy and a host of complex problems of the "core city" as the full import of a generation of liberal innovations becomes apparent.

Whatever the objective, the AFL-CIO Council led with its chin in an opening round of the migrant worker ferment the other day, with a result that could be anticipated.

The council demanded that State Sen. Charles O. Zollar, a conservative in the Michigan Legislature, either resign or be removed from his post as chairman of the appropriations committee. The reason: Zollar operates orchards and a nursery business in southwestern Michigan's fruit belt and therefore is in "conflict of interest" when his committee votes on bills related to farm legislation.

Not so, replied Zollar, who admitted that his constituents include a large number of farmers, but that consideration of their welfare is a legislative duty.

**Before Gus Scholle alleges conflict of interest on the part of others, Zollar asked in a televised rebuttal, how about removing members of the legislature who are salaried representatives of unions affiliated with the State Labor Council?**

Biographies of legislators, written by the office holders themselves for the official *Michigan Manual*, show that one state senator is currently business agent for an AFL local. Another, Sen. Coleman Young, is a former employe of Scholle's council itself. Another senator, until recently at least, worked as a CIO-UAW representative, which fact may or may not have influenced his views on labor legislation. Two other senators are members of the Trade Union Leadership Council (TULC) in Detroit.

In the House, Rep. David Holmes is a UAW-CIO "aide" and Rep. Joseph Snyder is a UAW representative. Another is president of the AFL Federation of Teachers in the Wayne (Mich.) district and another is past president of a United Mine Workers local. In all, 11 members of the House alone are, or have been, active in union organizations.

"One of the first things you discover in the state capital," a freshman legislator told *Human Events*, "is that the labor bloc gets its orders from Gus Scholle and acts accordingly."

The California grape boycott campaign was seized on by State Sen. Roger Craig, of industrial Dearborn, as a way to get his name before the public as a possible Democratic nominee for governor, for which he has announced his availability. For Craig, there have been some embarrassments.

As a leader in grape boycott activities (in which Mayor Jerome Cavanagh joined him) Craig decided to go to California to check up on the situation in the vineyards himself. He came back to throw around a lot of specious statistics at boycott rallies, whereupon State Sen. Lorraine Beebe, a Republican conservative whose district adjoins

**Conservative Wolverine State legislator Charles Zollar is under fire for alleged "conflict of interest."**

Craig's, also went to take a look on her own.

Questioning both vineyard workers and employers, Mrs. Beebe assembled figures on average income, health and employment conditions, and went on the air to challenge Craig's findings. She said she had not come across one knowledgeable individual, on either side of the issue, who remembered having been interviewed by Craig.

She also found, as did California State Sen. John Harmer (see *Human Events*, October 11) that the workers wanted no part of Cesar Chavez' union after first-hand experience with the terror tactics used to get them to sign up in an organization they didn't want to join.

But Craig, undaunted, scored on page one of the Detroit *Free Press* when he had himself photographed as a migrant worker in a Michigan pickle field, with one picture showing him sitting on the floor of a barren shack on a farm which Craig reported was owned by Ferris Pierson, a member of the State Agricultural Commission.

**But Pierson does not grow pickles, said Craig was never on his farm and claimed Craig's three-day pickle-picking adventure was a publicity stunt.**

Pierson said he did not maintain any of the "sub-human and degrading" facilities described in the paper and, becoming angry, filed a $150,000 libel suit against Craig and the newspaper, which Pierson said should have checked Craig's report.

In reply, Craig explained that a crew leader under whom he "worked" said the farm was Pierson's, but that "whose camp it was is not relevant"!

(California grape boycott activities in the Detroit area have been aimed at harassing store owners but have had little influence on consumer buying. In some instances, demonstrators have chosen a variety of items and then left them unpaid for at check-out stations to impede shopper traffic. In one protest demonstration, pickets carried unpaid-for merchandise from a Kroger market and were arrested. The store filed charges, but County Prosecutor William Calahan's office refused to issue warrants. "Hadn't the demonstrators abandoned the articles near the store?")

Migrant labor, in Michigan as elsewhere, poses problems that defy the simple solutions that have been offered by city-bred unionists and the liberal press. If agriculturalists, including Sen. Zollar, the current target of unionists, knew how to eliminate hand picking of crops by migrants who follow the season from the Rio Grande Valley to the Canadian border, they would do so.

**Detroit's lame duck Mayor Jerome Cavanagh is among those joining the liberal-inspired grape boycott.**

Some farmers are working toward the elimination of what the agitators call "brutalizing work" by installing machinery, as in some Michigan tomato operations. But units cost about $25,000, beyond the price that small operators care to invest, and the mechanical picking is "once over" picking, with no selection of ripened fruit among the green.

As mechanization progresses, however, more and more migrants from the Southwest, having discovered advantages in living in the North, even when unemployed, tend to remain after harvest time and drift to the cities.

There is then the problem of accommodating the traditional customs and attitudes of industrially untrained rural Mexican-Americans to the social and work climate of Cadillac-driving urban production workers. It is one to which Sen. Craig and Gus Scholle could well apply themselves as more and more farm workers end up on big-city welfare rolls.


**The Illegal Political Activities of the Ford Foundation**
issued by the
American Conservative Union

A documented study by the ACU staff covering this tax exempt organization's involvement in political campaigns, voter registration drives, black militant activities and campus violence. Used by ACU during its testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee, this report reveals how tax-free dollars are promoting political and social upheaval in America.

Order this ACU Special Report—$2 each.

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION
Capitol Hill • 328 Pa., Ave., S.E. • Wash., D.C. 20003

Hon. John M. Ashbrook, MC
National Chairman

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ ZIP_____

☐ Please rush me_____copies of the Ford Foundation Report. My check/money order for $_____is enclosed. (Make all checks payable to ACU.)



**GOLD COINS and SILVER DOLLARS**

**Increasing demand and diminishing supply make these coins a solid investment.**

William F. Rickenbacker in THE DEATH OF THE DOLLAR states: "I expect U.S. silver dollars in readable condition to advance in price about 15 per cent per year until the end of time..."

35 SILVER DOLLARS all different dates and mints from 1878 to 1926, including an 1878 CC. Many uncirculated and most dates before 1889. Set housed in three albums, only.....$99.50

40 Brilliant Uncirculated SILVER DOLLARS, assorted dates from 1879 to 1923, mostly before 1889. Solid Investment.....$119.00

1878-CC Carson City Silver Dollar, Extra Fine $7.95; Brilliant Uncirculated.....$15.50

**GOLD COINS all Brilliant Uncirculated**
U.S. $20.00 Liberty (before 1907).....$ 87.50
U.S. $20 St Gaudens (after 1907).....$ 85.00
Mexican 50 pesos (24.9% more gold than our U.S. $20.00). BEST BUY.....$ 82.50
Ten pieces for only.....$795.00

SIX COIN Canadian PROOF SETS of 1965
Silver Dollar, 50¢, 25¢, 10¢, 5¢, 1¢
(Set contains about $2.40 in silver bullion)
One set $2.95 Ten sets, only $28.00

**Complete Satisfaction Guaranteed! FREE illustrated coin catalog with each order. All orders shipped POSTPAID and fully insured.** California residents add 5% state tax. Bank References on request.

**DONALD BENGE**
1122 W. Burbank Blvd., Burbank, Calif. 91502
phone 849-7847 (area code 213)

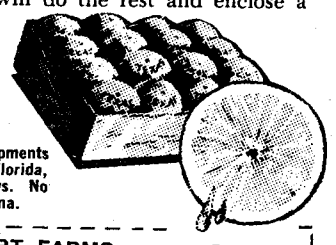
**RUBY RED Grapefruit**

**BUT:-**
You may order direct

for delivery to your door

Nature's wonder product grown to rich ripe goodness under the tropical TEXAS SUN. Picked at peak of perfection; each Grapefruit packed by the Mummert Farms is meticulously selected and wrapped to assure the *best* in *taste*. Shipments are prepaid and *guaranteed for safe arrival*. Simply send your gift list. We will do the rest and enclose a gift card.

Indicate Ruby Red or Assorted.



**Add $1.50 for shipments to California and Florida, account state Laws. No shipments to Arizona.**

THE MUMMERT FARMS Dept. H
PROGRESO, TEXAS 78579

Please ship the following to names and addresses attached.

GIFT CARTON
(½ Bushel)
Pack 2R—All Ruby Red.....$8.00
Pack 2RH—Ruby Red & Oranges.. 7.25

MEXICAN BASKET
(Shipping Wt. about 30 Lbs.)
Pack 6R—All Ruby Red.....$9.00
Pack 6RH—Half Oranges, Half Ruby Red..... 8.35

Also send gift folder.




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Continued from Page 9

# IPS Fellows: Ivory-Tower Activists

merce Alexander B. Trowbridge and Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

**Federal support also has been forthcoming for a new venture in higher education in which Mr. Waskow will play a significant role. The Justice Department recently agreed to underwrite loans and grants to students pursuing programs at a new Center for the Administration of Justice at American University in Washington. According to AU President George H. Williams, "The initial award [from Justice] exceeds $200,000, and anticipated funding for the academic year may exceed $500,000."**

William M. McDowell, AU information officer, told *Barron's* that Mr.

**IPS listed well-known Washington lawyer Thurman Arnold as one of its trustees.**

Waskow has been asked to serve as an expert consultant to the Center on how it can best serve the Washington community and that he may occasionally lecture on police problems.

Writing in a local underground newspaper, the *Quicksilver Times*, last July, Mr. Waskow advocated: "(*1*) Neighborhood control of police through citizen-elected commissions. (*2*) Creation of countervailing organizations such as unions of those policed. (*3*) Changing the role of the professional, tough cop to one of a more everyday civil servant doing his job, keeping the peace, rather than enforcing the law." A year ago, according to press reports, Mr. Waskow headed a rally here in front of the 13th police precinct station to demand immediate community control of the police.

To develop ways of establishing community control of health services, IPS held a seminar three years ago under the direction of Dr. William Kissick, associate fellow and then chief of the Division of Public Health Methods in the office of the surgeon general of the U.S. (Dr. Kissick now is teaching at the University of Pennsylvania.)

According to Pierce Rollins, acting director of information for the office of community health service of the Public Health Service (PHS), the material resulting from the conferences in that seminar has been compiled in two volumes by the Milbank Memorial Foundation. Mr. Rollins says the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, parent agency of PHS, uses the volumes as background material prepared by experts to help it set health policy.

The official explains that PHS now is funding the planning of health services at state, area, city and community levels, and that the various entities are free to sub-contract with IPS experts to help in the planning.

The general idea, Mr. Rollins adds, is to fund community health services only after area-wide planning. But because of the desperate need, PHS is making funds available without area planning. It has financed, he says, 22 community health centers and others for rat control and the treatment of venereal disease. So far PHS has made 2,500 health planning grants, Mr. Rollins reports.

Tangible results also have emanated from a 1968-69 IPS seminar conducted by Rick Margolies, an associate fellow. According to the Institute, it aimed "at developing a theory of social change based upon the possibility of a movement of small groups living communally and acting as agents of change in their larger environment. It is assumed that the small group will begin to live in the manner it wishes the society at large to adopt. . . .

"Some individual seminars will be theoretical and historical, while others will be more specifically programmatic.

"The first section, 'Toward a New Life Style,' will include discussions of human communion and human need, the extended family and child bearing. . .; 'the History of Intentional Communities' will include American 'utopian' experiments, Communist collectives and communes, the Kibbutzim; 'Toward a Praxis of Community' will synthesize lessons learned in the above sections and work toward a plan for a communitarian movement."

Mr. Margolies told *Barron's* that he now has communes in operation in the Adams-Morgan area of Washington. After starting with money from the Stern Family Foundation, commune members now support themselves by working part-time at the *Quicksilver Times* and the Washington *Free Press*, another underground newspaper, Mr. Margolies explained. Among other things, the *Free Press* has printed detailed instructions on how to conduct "insurgent activities." Now Mr. Margolies is preparing a new magazine, to be called "the People in the Streets."

In view of the success of IPS in developing and implementing theories, its present studies and projects for the future take on added significance. One plan is to set up a network of institutes like IPS all over the country to serve as counter-institutions to established ones. Gar Alperovitz, IPS fellow and former legislative assistant to Sen. Gaylord A. Nelson (D.-Wis.), already has launched one at Cambridge, Mass., with the help of Christopher Jencks, IPS fellow and Harvard professor.

**Mike Tigar, a long-time activist in peace and anti-war causes, was a speaker at a recent IPS seminar.**

According to Tina Smith, IPS administrative assistant, Alan Haber and Barry Weisberh are setting up a Bay Area Institute in San Francisco. Gerry Hunnius, having just completed an IPS study of "the possibility of workers' control of factories based on Yugoslav model," now is in Toronto exploring the possibility of setting up an institute. Miss Smith says IPS also is discussing the possibility of setting up one in the South.

Also on the agenda for IPS is "investigations of operations of foreign aid." Handily, Jack Heller, an associate fellow, is director of the Office of Development Programs for the Bureau for Latin America of the Agency for International Development.

A project listed in the IPS 1969-70 budget is a "Middle East Peace Mission," under the direction of Cherif Guellal, IPS fellow, and Algerian ambassador to the U.S. until his country broke off diplomatic relations.

About a year ago, Ivanhoe Donaldson, IPS fellow and member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, went to Africa for IPS to study self-government there and to contact members of the African National Congress and Pan African Congress. Now his assignment is to set up liaison with both groups, "in order to make accurate information available to American educational institutions on both secondary and college levels."

**The IPS assignment for fellow Frank Smith is "to set up a chain of cooperative food markets in an effort to bolster the concept of community control by trying to develop viable and democratic models for community control of food, shelter and clothing businesses."**

Mr. Smith, who formerly served as coordinator of the Community Staff of the notorious Child Development Group of Mississippi (*Barron's*, September 26 and October 24, 1966), is a member of SNCC, CORE and the Mississippi Freedom Democrat party.

All last summer IPS had several students interviewing the members and staff of the Federal Communications Commission and studying public records. As a result, the Institute now has elaborate plans for challenging the licenses of broadcasting stations, particularly when it doesn't consider them responsive enough to the views of the New Left.


## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING CORNER

*Insertions consonant with the character of HUMAN EVENTS will be accepted at the rate of 40¢ per word plus $1 for box number if desired. The fifth in a series of identical ads will be given free as a frequency bonus. Copy accompanied by payment is required 21 days before publication date. Write: Advertising Department, HUMAN EVENTS, 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003*

### SHOP BY MAIL

**LAI$$EZ FAIRE** buttons, black on gold, 5/$1. D. F. Nolan, 614E Parkview Bldg., Winchester, Mass. 01890.

**Ansel Adams Postcards.** Great for gifts, correspondence, framing. Set of 16 photolithographs, $1.75 postpaid. Eikon Gallery, 568 Lighthouse, Pacific Grove, Calif. 93950.

Write for free, full-color brochure of exclusive **Patriotic Christmas Cards.** Granger Graphics, P.O. Box 71, Yorba Linda, Calif. 92686

**1,000 Raised Print** business cards. $5.95 pp. Samples free. RO-MAR, Box 733H. Levittown, Pennsylvania 19058.

### TRAVEL

***Tired of conventional holidays?*** There is variety, excitement and flexibility when Andy and Alice Colquhoun skillfully guide you on an **East African *Wildlife Photographic Safari.*** Box 168, Thomson's Falls, Kenya.

**Worldwide Freighter Guide**—$1.75; Rates — Schedules — 700 passenger-carrying freight lines. **Traveltips,** 4021 ECF Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361

### BOOKS

**Bound Volumes of Human Events, 1955—1961.** Specialist Conservative-Libertarian used, out-of-print books. Write: P. K. Slocum, 7733 Corey St., Downey, Calif. 90242.

**Guide to the American Left.** Directory and Bibliography. 2,000 listings. Current. Comprehensive. $3. Directory, Box 1832-D, Kansas City, Mo. 64141.

Historical book, library edition **"History of Gold"** by A. B. J. Hammett. Gold mines, assay offices, mints, coins, etc. Order today, $4 postpaid, Victoria Daily News Publishing Co., Book Division, P. O. Box 3405-HE, Victoria, Texas.

### EMPLOYMENT

**Australia Wants You!** Government-assisted passage. 50,000 jobs. Latest government information and forms, $1. Special reports on employment, business, taxes, housing, education, ranching, farming, teaching, maps, etc. AUSTCO, Box 3623-HE, Long Beach, Calif. 90803.

### PERSONALS

Own Texas ranch, found oil, **need help test 4 sands.** Good geology, references, full information. R.M. Cooksey, 318 N. 14th Street, Corsicana, Tex. 75110

### EDUCATION

**Colleges and Schools Admission Center.** Colleges, transfers, prep schools. Consult oldest guidance service. There are openings **now.** American Schools and Colleges Association, Room 2008, One Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10020. Tel. 212-PL 7-4440.

### MISCELLANEOUS

**Defend the Free Market!** Superb articles, news analysis, editorials in **The Rational Individualist** illuminate the economic and philosophical defense of capitalism. Only $5 for 12 monthly issues. Write SRI, 800 Hillsboro Drive, Silver Spring, Md. 20902.

**Retiring? Seek a better climate?** Let us recommend impartially 12 or more places ideal for you, based on your interests, health, income, etc. We have personally investigated 1,500 active retirement facilities. Send today for questionnaire. Richard H. Brown, Director, Active Retirement Council, P.O. Box 465, Evanston, Ill. 60204.




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

## Moratorium Dangers

By REP. TOM MESKILL (R.-Conn.)

I think the Viet Nam moratorium may indeed have set a very dangerous precedent.

The architects of the moratorium intend to continue these demonstrations in the months ahead until all American troops have been withdrawn from Viet Nam. With each succeeding month, the moratorium will be extended—two days in November, three in December and so forth.

The moratorium planners would like to see institutions of higher education shut down altogether and the nation's business come to a halt.

If these moratoriums succeed, there is nothing to prevent other vocal groups from using this technique. There are other issues besides Viet Nam which agitate millions of Americans. What if the proponents of school prayers were to shut down our schools one additional day each month until the Supreme Court reversed its school prayer decision? Or suppose our senior citizens were to do the same thing to express their concern over inflation and their support for Social Security increases?

The right of petition or protest is one thing, but mob rule is quite another matter. I hope that the Viet Nam moratorium will not set a precedent that will subvert our system of representative democracy.

## Electoral Reform

By SEN. ALLEN ELLENDER (D.-La.)

*Sometime ago I expressed the thought that it was time to modernize the electoral college system. In my opinion, however, the proposed amendment agreed to by the House of Representatives is too radical a change. Frankly, I would be opposed to any amendment to the Constitution which would further lessen the influence of the smaller states in the national political process. This would be one effect of placing the presidential elections on the basis of a popular majority alone. It seems to me that the few states in the industrial Northeast, together with two to four other popular states such as Illinois, Michigan, California and Missouri, could easily control the presidential elections. In effect, this is what sometimes occurs under the present system, and I would not like to see the position of the smaller states further weakened. It seems to me that some method between the two extremes should be approved by the Congress and sent to the states for ratification. Several proposals. . .are pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee. It seems to me that serious consideration should be given to a modified electoral system based upon congressional districts. This would be responsive to the popular will, and yet at the same time provide certain safeguards against possible abuses.*

## Sex Education

By REP. GLENN CUNNINGHAM (R.-Neb.)

I have introduced a bill which would prohibit the use of federal funds for sex education in elementary and secondary schools.

My bill would allow federal funds to be used for this purpose only if the courses involved had the approval of the school board concerned. This would put the issue of sex education where it belongs—in the hands of local and state educators.

Ultimately, school administrators, local boards of education and their staffs would be voiceless in designing a good sex or family education program. I want to preserve for parents the right to decide for themselves through their school system the character and extent of education in sex they desire for their children.

My bill directs the commissioner of education to take the necessary steps to insure that no grant is made which would permit the use of federal funds for (1) teaching sex education; (2) training teachers in sex education; or (3) research into methods of teaching sex education without approval of the governing body concerned.

## Foreign Aid Cuts?

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

*President Nixon has requested Congress to provide $1 billion* more *this year for foreign aid than the $1.7 billion that was appropriated last year. At the same time he has called for a 75 per cent reduction in spending for federal construction in this country. I support his 75 per cent reduction on construction projects in an effort to halt rocketing inflation, and assure him that I will also be prepared to offer the necessary legislation to cut the foreign giveaway bill at least 75 per cent when it comes to the House floor. What is sauce for Nixon's American goose ought to be sauce for the foreign gander.*

# House Votes to Scrap Electoral College, 338-70

**Below are the two rollcalls taken by the House of Representatives September 18 on the issue of amending the Constitution to provide for the elimination of the electoral college and for direct election of the President and vice president. The final vote, at right, was on the direct election reform proposal as reported out of the House Judiciary Committee (a two-thirds vote was needed for passage). Earlier, a motion to recommit the bill back to committee with instructions to incorporate the congressional district plan (electors to be chosen as are senators and congressmen) was defeated. That motion, offered by Rep. David Dennis (R.-Ind.) is at left.**

### *Dennis Amendment*

**DEMOCRATS FOR: 62**

Abbitt
Abernethy
Anderson (Tenn.)
Andrews (Ala.)
Aspinall
Baring
Bevill
Blanton
Brinkley
Burleson (Tex.)
Cabell
Caffery
Casey
Chappell
Colmer
Daniel (Va.)
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Edwards (La.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Fisher
Flowers
Flynt
Fountain
Fuqua
Gettys
Griffin
Hagan
Haley
Hebert
Henderson
Hull
Ichord
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (N. C.)
Lennon
Long (La.)
Mahon
Mann
Marsh
Melcher
Montgomery
Natcher
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman
Patman
Pike
Rarick
Rivers
Roberts
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield
Sikes
Steed
Stubblefield
Taylor
Waggonner
Watts
White
Whitten

**REPUBLICANS FOR: 100**

Adair
Andrews (N. D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Blackburn
Bow
Bray
Brock
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burke (Fla.)
Burton (Utah)
Bush
Camp
Carter
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Cleveland
Collins
Conable
Cramer
Davis (Wis.)
Denney
Dennis
Derwinski
Dickinson
Duncan
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Findley
Foreman
Frelinghuysen
Frey
Goldwater
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Hall
Hammerschmidt
Harsha
Hogan
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
King
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Kyl
Landgrebe
Langen
Lujan
McClure
McEwen
Martin
Mayne
Miller (Ohio)
Mize
Morton
Myers
Nelsen
Poff
Quie
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Reifel
Rhodes
Roth
Roudebush
Ruth
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Scott
Sebelius
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Snyder
Steiger (Ariz.)
Talcott
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Wampler
Watson
Weicker
Whitehurst
Williams
Winn
Wold
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

**DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 166**

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Alexander
Anderson (Calif.)
Annunzio
Barrett
Bennett
Biaggi
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burlison (Mo.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carey
Celler
Chisholm
Clark
Clay
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels (N. J.)
Davis (Ga.)
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, William
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallifianakis
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gaydos
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Jacobs
Jarman
Johnson (Calif.)
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kluczynski
Koch
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Long (Md.)
Lowenstein
McCarthy
McFall
Macdonald (Mass.)
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Mikva
Miller (Calif.)
Mills
Minish
Mink
Mollohan
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N. Y.)
Nedzi
Nix
Obey
O'Hara
Olsen
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Podell
Preyer (N. C.)
Price (Ill.)
Pryor (Ark.)
Pucinski
Randall
Rees
Reuss
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Rooney (N. Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers
Stephens
Stokes
Stratton
Stuckey
Symington
Thompson (N. J.)
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Yatron
Young
Zablocki

**REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 80**

Anderson (Ill.)
Ayres
Beall (Md.)
Bell (Calif.)
Biester
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Mich.)
Broyhill (N. C.)
Button
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clawson, Del
Collier
Conte
Corbett
Coughlin
Cowger
Cunningham
Dellenback
Dwyer
Esch
Fish
Ford, Gerald
Fulton (Pa.)
Gubser
Gude
Halpern
Hansen (Idaho)
Harvey
Hastings
Heckler (Mass.)
Horton
Keith
Latta
Lloyd
Lukens
McClory
McCloskey
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald (Mich.)
McKneally
MacGregor
Mailliard
Mathias
May
Meskill
Michel
Minshall
Mizell
Morse
Mosher
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Railsback
Reid (N. Y.)
Riegle
Robison
Ruppe
Sandman
Saylor
Schwengel
Smith (N. Y.)
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft
Vander Jagt
Watkins
Whalen
Widnall
Wiggins
Wilson, Bob
Wyatt
Wydler

**NOT VOTING: 23**

### *Final Passage*

**DEMOCRATS FOR: 184**

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Alexander
Anderson (Calif.)
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Bennett
Biaggi
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burlison (Mo.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Cabell
Carey
Casey
Celler
Chisholm
Clark
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels (N. J.)
Davis (Ga.)
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Dingell
Donohue
Downing
Dulski
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Edwards (La.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, William
Fountain
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallifianakis
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gaydos
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Jacobs
Jarman
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (N. C.)
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kluczynski
Koch
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Long (Md.)
Lowenstein
McCarthy
McFall
Macdonald (Mass.)
Madden
Marsh
Matsunaga
Meeds
Mikva
Miller (Calif.)
Mills
Minish
Mink
Mollohan
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N. Y.)
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
Obey
O'Hara
Olsen
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pike
Podell
Preyer (N. C.)
Price (Ill.)
Pryor (Ark.)
Pucinski
Randall
Rees
Reuss
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Rooney (N. Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stokes
Stratton
Stubblefield
Symington
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Thompson (N. J.)
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Watts
White
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Yatron
Young
Zablocki

**REPUBLICANS FOR: 154**

Adair
Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews (N. D.)
Arends
Ayres
Beall (Md.)
Belcher
Bell (Calif.)
Betts
Biester
Bow
Bray
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N. C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burke (Fla.)
Bush
Button
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Camp
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Collier
Collins
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Coughlin
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Davis (Wis.)
Dellenback
Denney
Dickinson
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Fish
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Frey
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodling
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Halpern
Hammerschmidt
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha
Harvey
Hastings
Heckler (Mass.)
Hogan
Horton
Hosmer
Hunt
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King
Kyl
Langen
Latta
Lloyd
Lujan
McClory
McCloskey
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald (Mich.)
McEwen
McKneally
MacGregor
Mailliard
Martin
Mathias
May
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Mizell
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Nelsen
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Quie
Railsback
Reid (Ill.)
Reid (N. Y.)
Rhodes
Riegle
Robison
Roth
Roudebush
Ruppe
Ruth
Sandman
Saylor
Schadeberg
Schneebeli
Schwengel
Scott
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N. Y.)
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger (Ariz.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft
Talcott
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Watkins
Weicker
Whalen
Whitehurst
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wold
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

**DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 44**

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews (Ala.)
Baring
Bevill
Brinkley
Burleson (Tex.)
Caffery
Chappell
Clay
Colmer
Daniel (Va.)
Diggs
Dorn
Dowdy
Eckhardt
Evins (Tenn.)
Fisher
Flowers
Flynt
Fuqua
Gettys
Griffin
Hagan
Haley
Hebert
Jones (Ala.)
Lennon
Long (La.)
Mahon
Mann
Montgomery
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman
Patman
Pickle
Rarick
Rivers
Satterfield
Sikes
Stuckey
Waggonner
Whitten

**REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 26**

Ashbrook
Berry
Blackburn
Brock
Burton (Utah)
Cleveland
Dennis
Derwinski
Duncan
Foreman
Goldwater
Gross
Hall
Hutchinson
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Landgrebe
Lukens
McClure
Mayne
Mize
Quillen
Reifel
Scherle
Sebelius
Watson

**NOT VOTING: 23**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**Four masterpieces (In six volumes) all complete and unabridged:**

**THE FEDERALIST PAPERS**
by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay
Introduction by Willmoore Kendall and George W. Carey
526 pages

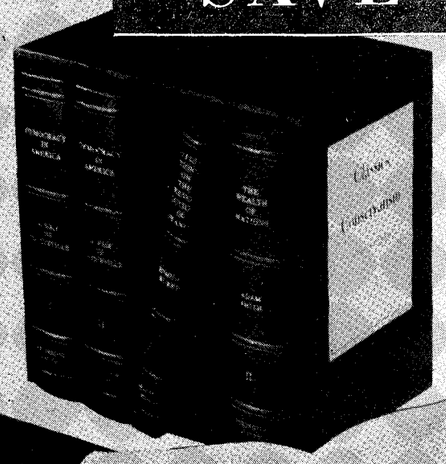
**THE WEALTH OF NATIONS**
(Two Volumes)
by Adam Smith
Introduction by John Chamberlain 1,044 pages

**REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE**
by Edmund Burke
Introduction by Russell Kirk
280 pages

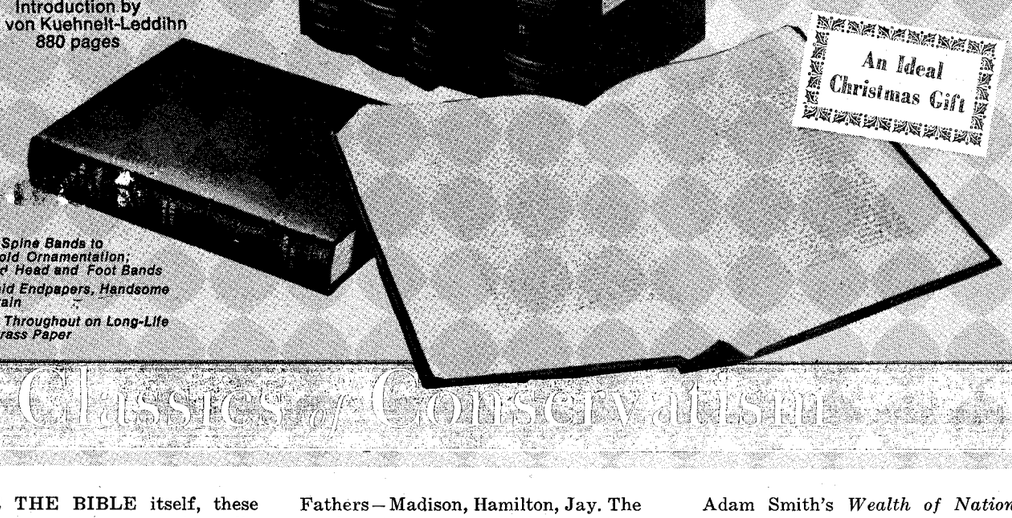
**DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA**
(Two Volumes)
by Alexis de Tocqueville
Introduction by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn
880 pages

# SAVE $29.05

## WITH TRIAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE Conservative Book Club



- *Bound in Morocco-Grained Balacron, Stamped in 14-Carat Gold*
- *Sturdy Slipcase Finished in Genuine Kivar*
- *Printed and bound in The Netherlands by two of Europe's oldest and most respected printing houses*




- *Raised Spine Bands to Protect Gold Ornamentation; Mercerized Head and Foot Bands*
- *Blue Laid Endpapers, Handsome Red Topstain*
- *Printed Throughout on Long-Life Esparto Grass Paper*

*YES—the complete* Classics of Conservatism *in the same 6-volume* HEIRLOOM EDITION *that regularly sells for $35.00...now yours for just*

**$5.95**

*when you join the Conservative Book Club and agree to take 5 books over the next 18 months*

**FREE EXAMINATION**

*Return set if not well pleased, in which case all charges and Club membership will be cancelled immediately!*

WHEN YOU REQUEST CLASSICS OF CONSERVATISM on this special offer (at about one-sixth its regular price) you also begin a stimulating experiment in good conservative reading as a trial member of the CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB.

Once you taste the convenience, the big cash discounts and other benefits of Club membership, we think you'll want to be a permanent member along with 32,000 other alert conservatives throughout the fifty sovereign (though not as sovereign as they ought to be) states.

As a member you receive every month the free Club Bulletin. It describes in elaborate detail the Club Selection and Alternate for the month, and keeps you right up to date on what's new in conservative books, even those you may not have time to read. And you are eligible for very good discounts on those Club Selections you decide to take. Most discounts are about 33%, but they have ranged as high as 75%.

Your sole obligation as a member is to accept 5 books over the next 18 months from among the 35 or more the Club will offer... and to let us know when you don't want a Club Selection on a handy form that is always provided.

There never was a better time to join the Conservative Book Club! You get CLASSICS OF CONSERVATISM at a $29.05 savings ...and if for any reason you are not well pleased, you may return the set. In this case all charges and your CBC membership will immediately be cancelled, without obligation.

Fill in coupon below. Mail to the Conservative Book Club, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801.

# Classics of Conservatism

## HEIRLOOM EDITION

AFTER THE BIBLE itself, these four masterpieces are universally acknowledged as the great books of our heritage... truly the CLASSICS OF CONSERVATISM. For the first time these timeless books are given the permanence, the dignity, the lavish printing and binding that is theirs by right.

And now you can possess them in this beautiful *Heirloom Edition* – not at their regular $35.00 price – but just $5.95 with trial membership in the Conservative Book Club. That's a saving of $29.05!

### Worthy of an Honored Place in Your Home

The *Heirloom Edition* of CLASSICS OF CONSERVATISM is a set you will read and enjoy and profit from, a set that will become the companion of a lifetime. Again and again you will return to these volumes, like old and trusted friends. And some day you will pass them along to your children: cherished possessions, a mark of the values you have given them and the country you have worked to keep strong.

Here is the wisdom of our Founding Fathers—Madison, Hamilton, Jay. The wisdom that gave us the greatest instrument of government in all of the human experience. And today especially, when you read *The Federalist Papers* alongside the irresponsible experiments of the Court, the power grabs of the Executive, the cries of mobs who hoot at our laws, you have a standard to rally to. Willmoore Kendall and George W. Carey had all this very much in mind when they penned the Introduction to this volume. It is called "How to Read *The Federalist*".

Edmund Burke, too, is a man for our time: like us he lived in an age of revolution. He saw intellectuals of satanic arrogance itching to make mankind conform to their blueprints and contemptuous of every value that Western civilization stood for. And he saw what it would all lead to: lawless mobs screaming for blood. Burke shows us in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* why the one inevitably leads to the other – why the people we call Liberals make smooth the path to Auschwitz and Budapest... the Bay of Pigs... Berkeley... Watts.

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* proved that free enterprise made sense – and made prosperity. Smith, anticipating the bleeding hearts of our own day, showed how enlightened self-interest helps the underdog more than a dozen "poverty programs".

*Democracy in America* is fascinating on several levels. It is a picture of our national character that still holds true in many ways: a knowing look at our political and social and religious habits; and, above all, a remarkable analysis of the prospects of freedom in a nation that, even in the 1830's, was moving fast from mixed and limited government to mass democracy. Because Tocqueville liked America and loved liberty, and because his own land had made the easy slide from Liberalism to mob rule to tyranny, he has insights for us that we dare not ignore.

### Perhaps the Most Beautiful Set of Books You Will Ever Possess

For this *Heirloom Edition* a special paper was chosen, made from esparto grass whose long, soft fibers produce a sheet much superior to the best wood-pulp papers. The covers are fashioned of a base of genuine felted binder's boards. The binding is a rich midnight blue Morocco-grained Balacron.

The spines are ornamented in pure 14-carat gold. To protect the expensive stamping, a technique was borrowed from the 16th-century bookwrights: raised horizontal bands across the spine of each volume. Thus, when your book lies flat, the band elevates the spine a fraction of an inch—enough to keep the gold from suffering wear or damage.

Each volume is fortified with mercerized head and foot bands. Page tops are stained in a striking cardinal red. Each volume is graced with soft haze blue laid endpapers. All six volumes are boxed in their own rugged matching slipcase.

Naturally, materials of fine quality must still be fashioned by masters. The printing is by Drukkerij Bosch, the internationally celebrated printers of Utrecht; the binding by the century-old firm of Proost en Brandt in Amsterdam. We think you will agree that they have given us one of their masterworks.

**CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB**

81 Centre Avenue
New Rochelle, New York 10801

Please enroll me as a Trial Member of the Conservative Book Club. I understand that membership entitles me to buy Club Selections at discounts of 20% to 75% plus shipping. My sole obligation as a Member is to accept 5 books over the next 18 months from among the 35 or more the Club will offer. Each month you will send me free the Club Bulletin describing Selections and Alternates, any of which I may reject on the handy form provided. If I accept a Selection I need do nothing; it will come automatically.

Check one box below:

☐ I enclose $5.95. Send CLASSICS OF CONSERVATISM, all postage prepaid by you. If I return books after 30-day examination my trial membership in CBC will be cancelled without obligation and my immediate refund will include extra money to cover return postage.

☐ No payment enclosed. If I keep the set I will remit $5.95 plus shipping. Or, I may return the set after 30-day examination, in which case I will owe nothing and my trial membership in CBC will be cancelled without obligation.

HE-86

PRINT NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP_____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED